THE LOYALL COVENANTER.

OR,

Peace & Truth revived.

BEING

Certaine seasonable Considerations

presented to the whole Kingdome in generall.

But more particularly intended for that Famous and Honourable City of *London*, and therein in a more peculiar manner all those Citizens,

As also,

All other Persons whersoever, who have taken the Solemn LEAGUE and COVENANT.

Printed in the Yeare 1648.

Lambeth 1443

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Printed in the Year 1648.

To all true-hearted Englishmen, of what degree or qualitie soever, especially to each particular Citizen of *London.*

Courteous and friendly Reader,

FOr so my believing charitie perswadeth me to style you, although my mean and inconsiderable deserts cannot hope to lay claim to the title;

As it is a certaine truth for our comfort, that man's passive extremitie, is Gods active opportunitie, deliverance then stepping in, when in our apprehensions wee are past hopes of being delivered; so it is as necessary a truth to be practised, that when Kingdomes, Cities, Families or friends are most passive under the extremities of accumulative miseries, threatning ruine and desolation; then to be most active in our assistance, counsell, and to our power, deliverance. Such like thoughts as these possessing me in these unhappiest of unhappy times, wherein a generally-feared destruction hangeth over our heads like a sharp pointed sword, only by a small thread, perswaded me with the poore widow (my abilities not being able to bestow more) to cast in this my following mite; and if it shall (though in it selfe worthlesse) prove by the concurring operation of Gods Spirit upon the hearts of men, in the least manner, instrumentally contributary to the reformation of some, information of others, and a desired reforation of the whole Kingdome in generall, the City of London in particular, where I received my first birth and being, to their ancient honour, and former truth and peace, return your thankes to the Lord of heaven and earth, the fountaine of all Mercies, and pray for the Eternall happinesse of

Your reall friend, Country-man, and fellow Citizen,

Rexophilus Londinatus Christianus Protestans.

Maii prim. 1648.

Ne inutilis olim

viciſſe videar

25 Proverbs 11. *A word ſpoken in ſeaſon is like apples of Gold in pictures of Silver.*

122 Pſalme 8. *For my brethren and companions ſa kes will I now ſay, peace bee within thy walls.*

WHen the Hebrew-tongued bells ſadly invite the Charitable aſſiſtance of others to a pacification of that rebellious Element, Fire, deſtructively active beyond its legall bounds, and a reduction of it to its proper center and due obedience; who will not (unleſſe ſome whoſe preventing care is little about their own, and carefull pitty leſſe imployed about others ruines) willingly contribute their quenching paines? Nay, who (except others as miſerably deſtitute of honeſty as wealth, whoſe ſtrangely malicious mindes repine at the fruitfull induſtry, ſmiling proſperity of others, and whoſe irregular expectations hope to ſupply the defect of their own wealth, and boy up their almoſt irrecoverably ſunk eſtates, by a generally concurring deſtruction) will not ſubſcribe to a voluntary demolition of their proper and more peculiar buildings; only to anticipate the devaſtation of others by that mercileſſe raging tyrant?

Hebrew Letters muſt bee read backward.

A Cuſtome in England to ring bels backward when houſes are on fire.

When the angry windes begin to vent their ſpleen, and the paſſive ſurges which not long before were united into one only unfurrowed face, like ſlaves forced to a degeneration, are compelled by thoſe powerfully Commanding Maſters, into high ſwelling frowns, and deep-furrowed wrinkles, thereby menacing ruine to all floating travellers in that uncertain watery region; Will not then all obliged, and reſolved guides, *Vela moderantes per aquoris undas*, unleſſe ſome who with too much eaſe can change ingagements of publike preſervation, into permiſſive if not active reſolutions of deſolation, or others whoſe winding limbs embarqued on gainfull private hopes, or aguiſh loſing fears can comply with every rouling wave, thereby in vain expecting in a Fly-boat of neutralitie to ſwim ſafely to a ſelf-ſecuring ſhore; will not all except ſuch, conſult a prevention of ſuch a univerſally-threaten'd deſtruction?

My deareſt Country-men, England *hoc momento temporis* (O that Fame could give my Pen the lye! but alas, alas, experience already hath and ſtill doth afford us too too certain grounds evidencing its truth) is at this very day become a ſad paralell of theſe preceding lines; England not long ſince famous abroad, happy at home, even beyond (*ſi fœlicitatem nôrârit*) deſire of additionall happineſſe, for its united domeſtick ſtructures, I mean its Monarchicall government compacted into ſo ſweetly agreeing, * diſproportion'd proportion, that ſetting aſide thoſe *Concomitantes Regnorum deva-*

* King, Lords and Commons in Parliament.

ſtatores, thoſe deſtroyers of men and Kingdomes, Ambition, Envy, and Sedition, which blind the judgements ſight, enforcing it to a partiall (if not an envious) conſtruction of the beſt things) the moſt prying eye could not diſcern the * humbleſt ſtone remedileſſly preſs'd by an oppreſſing * Superiour, or higheſt advanced pinacle proudly ſcorning inferiour ſubjected materialls without a check from the maſter builder, I mean the eſtabliſhed law, whoſe enlivener *ſonſq; origo*, is our Soveraigne Lord, King *Charles*, &c. *Sine quo nulla nova fuit eſt Anglia lexq; erit.*

*Pooreſt men.
* Rich perſons.

This England, *quis non talia ſcribendo lachrymarum flumina mitteret?* who can forbeare wiſhing with the Prophet, That his head were full of water, and his eyes a fountain of tears to weep for his Native Country? by the beginning Sparcks of an unfortunate Northern fire-brand (ſtrange it is, that ſo cold, and almoſt benumming a climate ſhould yield ſuch nimbly-devouring fire) intermixing in its conſuming progreſſe with unnaturally connaturalizing materialls, by degrees grown almoſt into one entire flame.

Jeremiah, 9. chap. 1. v.

This winged Veſſell truly ſtyled Europ's Soveraigne, whoſe ſwelling ſayles not long ſince were filled even to envy, and admiration of all round about her, by long continuing, uninterrupted ſucceſſull gales; At laſt by the enforcement of rigid neceſſitie, juſtly ſteering its powerfully commanding courſe for its command proceeded from a * Juſt power, neere the *Calidonian waters, met with ſome ſurly oppoſing guſts, high-working ambitious and rebellious waves, which not wanting a concurring aſſiſtance, and incouragement from other mutinous ſpirits (ſtrange it is that children of the ſame wombe ſhould rend the very bowels of their naturall parent upon the unreaſonable invitation of aliens) accompanying the ſame Fleet with this Royall Pilot, denyed to ſtrike ſayle, or expreſſe obedience to his lawfull commands: Which ſtrange and unnaturall oppoſition increaſing like ſnow roul'd from place to place, even to a monſtrous heap (by the ſenſleſly aſſiſting and furiouſly active hands of ſuch perſons) was ſoon, howſoever diſſolved by the favourable breath, and gracious condeſcentions beyond expectation of the Royall Cómander; himſelf, as it ſeemed, having a breſt more affected with the loſſe of any under his command, however in their obedience repugnant, although I cannot but confeſſe, that many of that Nation were, and by their loyall words and deeds then did expreſſe themſelves

* Commiſſion from his Majeſtie.
* *Scotland.*

themſelves repugnant to ſuch a repugnancy, than with the loſſe of part of his Commanding power. Soon after which theſe two unequall oppoſites met in mutuall embraces, and a pacification; and becauſe their reciprocall agreement was confirmed by the agreeing ſuffrages of the ſupreameſt Court, I will here *ſilentium tenere*, reſtrain my pen from being further inquiſitive, Whether or no it was an act lawfull, and that warranted alſo by religion, reaſon and law in them, not only to deny obedience unto, but oppoſe the commands of their lawfull (for now my expreſſions ſhall be plain to the apprehenſions of every one) and Native Soveraigne; or Whether it were not an action abſolutely neceſſary in their Prince, both in reſpect of religions, reaſons, lawes, and his honours vindication to demand a reaſon thereof, and that not proving ſatisfactory, to oppoſe ſuch an oppoſition.

However I ſhall be bold to adde thus much, that if amidſt the troubled waters of another Nation, England then labouring with the almoſt unavoydable effects of a long continuing peace (a ſupine ſecuritie) with its adjuncts; as erroneous practices, overſights, miſcarriages in ſome particular Miniſters of State, as what Nation can plead a totall freedom from ſome intervening corruptions and Juſtice-perverting inſtruments? If by the additional aggravations of theſe Errours and miſtakes by the Ambition & faction of ſome, who the better to facilitate a progreſſe in their own deſignes, loudly ſpake to the undiſtinguiſhing multitude, that ſuch deviations from particular lawes, were but intentions (but upon what rationall ground I know not) of ſubverting the whole frame of the Law. If ſuch like ſtormes in England proved furthering inſtruments to purchaſe them a Calme, and a Serene Kingdome; If they beyond a probability of former hopes, in this very opportunitie of opportunitie, obtained their owne deſires from the unparalell'd favour of their Soveraigne; It were to be wiſhed that they then had rather remained ſatisfied with the poſſeſſion of ſo much happineſſe, returning to God, the fountain of all bleſſings, thankfulneſſe for ſo great a mercy, ſtudying expreſſive gratitude by obedientiall and loyall actions to their Prince, for ſuch gracious manifeſtations, than like phanatick people, who having miraculouſly quenched fire begun in their own houſes, and thereby prevented a menaced ruine; Not ſatisfied therewith (as if the miſery of others could adde perpetuitie to their procured happineſſe;) caſt fire-balls ſo long into their Neighbours dwellings, untill in it its furiouſly-devouring race it returne where it firſt began; Which, if God for ingratitude, and other concomitant ſins, as he is juſt without reſpect

respect of persons, should in the revolution of future time permit; what mercy (although his mercy is above his justice) can they with confidence hope from him, who with so much neglect; I had almost written, impudence, have slighted his favours? Or what pitying assistance can they expect others should shew unto them, who never supposed themselves contentedly happy in their own particular interests, untill they had endeavoured, nay effected the generall unhappiness of others?

Deus necessitatis causam talis avertat oro;

O Lord prevent the occasion of such a necessitous assistance:

Further, all things considered, rather than expose themselves to future hazards, it might have been, and still may be a consideration worthy their thoughts, a little *prævidere*, Whether or no in after ages, when hot fiery disputing passions shall be lull'd asleep, when mens imbittered spirits shall by well poyzed impartiall judgements be stopp'd from irregular verball excursions; when private interests shall freely and unanimously resolve themselves into the generally reall good of the publike, Whether or no then their Successours reflecting upon such past actions, and their Circumstantiall means also made use of, probably may not both in their private discourses esteeme, and in publike generall Counsells censure, their favours, or if they wil reformation, or rather alteration in government (Now freely theirs by the voluntary and graciously Confirming grant of his Majesty) to bee but the enforced issue of griping necessitie, and the purchase of a menacing brandished Sword, and because so enforced, resolve them as Null; and therefore for the Prevention hereof, that in the judicious ballances of after times they may not (to their lasting dishonour) be found too light. It had been, and as yet may be a well becomming policie in them to be fruitfull in succeeding actions of loyall thankfulnesse; *Estote prudentes præstat, esse Promethium quam Epimethium*; Too late penitentiall experience is but a sadning mistris.

Examples to this effect, our Nation hath many, and it is believed theirs is not without some few presidents.

Therefore to this purpose before the houre-glasse of such an opportunity is irrecoverably past, and its sands quite spent; It were a seasonable wish that they would take into their serious considerations, even their own loving Compellation and title of *Brethren*, and indeed wee are no lesse, having one politicall Father the King, who is *amborum pater regnorum*, to whom we owe obedience by the law of God, and the lands, which being undoubtedly true;

That they would make good that title by affectionate fraternall actions expressing themselves brethren, *Affectione reali activa, non titulari solummodo, professione.*

That their deeds speaking the language of enemies, like *Cain*'s dealing with *Abel*, may no longer contradict their tongues expression; Ceremoniously, if not treacherously tearming us brethren, that they *Sub specie fraterni nominis*, as hitherto wee have find grounds to suspect, may with more facilitie deceive the credulous, and the rather now because it is murmured abroad, that *Englands* present miseries, by their fighting and Covenanting assistance have received much addition; It concernes them, *non verba solummodo, sed facta dicere*, for *non prosunt verba quando cohæret facto vidimus*; Therefore it were to bee desired, that they would obey the command of Christ, to differ no longer, nor fall into new fractions, or further factions, because we are brethren. And to this purpose it is expected as well for their own vindication (I mean not the whole Nation, for many thousands

therein

have made good their constant loyalty to their King really, not verbally, but all such in that Nation whose consciences cannot but whisper themselves necessarily concerned in such a vindication, as requested, for their Brethrens assistance, that they would really and positively not with intermixed, uncertain distinctions, doubtfull expressions, ambiguous tearms, which like wax from the Seal, may be apted to any construction, thereby owning the Jesuit (whom they seem so much to detest) for their Parent; but on the contrary, that *plene planeq; sine equivocatione*, without mental reservation or premised evasion declare: and because *mera declaratio sine actu inutilis & otiosa*, words in such a case are ayery nothings, accordingly to act, for the restoration of our Protestant Religion to its generally practicall purity, unity and uniformity; his royall Majesty, their and our dread Soveraign, now (*horresco scribere!* a restrained Prisoner) to his royall Prerogative and Rights by the Law of the Land, justly and undoubtedly manifested to be his: his Subjects, *singulatim*, and their fellow Subjects, to their ancient Liberties, Proprieties and Immunities, by the same Law really theirs; and in the conjunction of such loyall affections, and really performed actions, the three Kingdoms to an entire Peace and undeniable Truth, according to the truest construction of their own solemn League and Covenant, which being by their contributed assistance forwarded to a perfect consummation, we shall return thanks to God for his exceeding bountifull expressions of such a mercy and gratification to them, as Instruments conducing thereunto; hoping that we shall not need to put them in mind, that our hopes onely are, that such kind of auxiliary affections will proceed meerly out of loyall affections to his Majesty, and love to us their Brethren, and not from an intent commandingly to incorporate themselves into *Englands* Priviledges, Freedoms, Honours and Wealth; therefore at present shall have no occasion to acquaint them, that *Englands* birth-right will not be sold upon unequall terms, to this purpose.

O thou God of all Spirits, grant to them and us thy assisting grace, that we may obey thee O Lord, who art the King of heaven and earth, in all things, for thy own sake, according to thine own rule, and King *Charles* our Soveraign, thy substitute upon earth, for thy sake, that so all of us guided by one Law of truth, thy will revealed in thy Word, governed by him our King according to the truth of Law established, and all our multiplied sinnes against thee

being pardoned, treason and rebellion against his Majesty buried in an unrepealable Act of oblivion, we may for the future live in piety and godlinesse towards thee our God, in obedience and loyalty to his Majesty, in unity, peace and concord (like Brethren) one among another, *Amen, Amen, Amen.*

But I return to *England*, which still remaineth passive under a tyrannically wasting fire, and like a Ship still tossed to and fro by raging tempestuous windes; it's true Religion by Law established, it's really fundamentall Lawes, respecting both Prince and People, his just Rights, and the Subjects most certain and generally contenting Liberties approaching neer to a dissolutiō, though not a destruction, (for *magna veritas & prevalebit*, the gates of hell shall never be able to prevail against truth) being ready to sink into an *Aristocraticall* boundlesse, or *Anarchicall* bottomles Sea: Therefore (my dear Country-men) that I might not appear like an uncharitable Travellour, passing thorow a Town contracted by fire into one flame, without observation, pitty, or according to my present poor ability, some assistance; or that I may not seem careless to sail by a distressed Vessell, lost almost in the deep, by the violent beatings of seditiously conspiring waves: I have here contributed some buckets of water towards the asswaging of this devouring fire; sent some assisting necessaries aboard the Kingdoms sinking Ship: In doing whereof, if my zeal to the Protestant Religion, loyalty to my Soveraign, love and fidelity to my native Country, affection and approbation of the well composed Lawes thereof, compassion and pitty to all my misguided, misinformed and seduced Country-men, shall expose me to censure, condemnation, nay death it self, I am resolved, by the help of God, in whom alone is my confidence, with the Apostle, into whatsoever condition I shall be cast, therewith to remain content, esteeming it *dulce & decorum pro Religione, Rege Patria legibusque Angliæ mori.*

Now because it concerneth all who raise buildings, not so much to catch the eyes-observance with insubstantiall shadowes, as to remain lastingly serviceable, to lay a sure foundation, least that declining or by opposing force, enforced to a removall, each particuler superstructure meet with the same ruine, and suddenly sinking-fate: my intent therefore not being for procuration of popular ayery applause, but information and reduction of those into the good old way of the Christian Protestant Religion, Reason, Law and Loyalty, who through ignorance and misinformation have been made *pe-*

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des instrumentales, the feet by which the Machiavilians of these times have walked on towards the end of their designs; *manus complicantes*, the hands with which Politicians have framed their Engines for an enforced alteration of *Englands government*; without whose assistãce their plots would have proved but like statues without motion, or abortive Births, dead in the very womb: those I mean whose intentions at first never aimed at a totall change of Government, by a diminishing, though in a petitionary, much lesse a bloody compulsive way, his Majesties royall Prerogative and just Regall power; but having been abused through specious pretences of Reformation, have been ignorant instruments of *Englands* unhappinesse.

As for the Initiatours, Contrivers, Plotters of this rooting design, who begin at the end thereof, and accordingly have in *England*, *per fasque nefas*, endeavoured the attaining their ends, levelling all ancient bounds of Regall Prerogative, just Parliamentary Priviledges, private mens proprieties and liberties, digging so deep in quest of the fundamentall Lawes, that they have arrived at the *Antipodes*, and yet after six yeers endeavours, are as far from finding that fundamentall vein, as they were when their bloody designs opened the first vein in the Kingdoms body: I cannot expect a smooth face from them expressing favour to these lines, or remain satisfied with what is written, therefore I shall onely pray for them, that the God of heaven would open their eyes, causing them to see, how with *Jeroboam*, they have not onely sinned themselves, but caused many thousands in *England* to sin, and grant them repentance and pardon for all their accumulative offences, before they go down to the grave and be seen no more.

I shall therefore *fundamina ponere*, leaving discourses of the necessity of a Nationall government, the antiquity, rationality and precedency of Monarchy, beyond any other form, the comparative excellency of the English Government, in respect of others, practized and bearing the same title, the Presse having been already fruitfull in Writings of that nature: lay down some undeniable positions and truths, *ab omnibusque concessa*.

First, in respect of a Government already lawfully setled.

Secondly, in regard of those *ligamenta fidelitatis*, promissory,

oaths, by which religious engagements we oblige our selves to an acknowledgement of some rights due to the supream Governour, by the generally received and practized customs of a Nation; as also to maintain such rights against all violent opposition, hindering any compelled diminution or alteration of the same, by any persons whomsoever.

Hoping that in the result of all, *nemo Christianus contra Religionem, nemo Anglicana contra leges Angliæ, nemo sobrius contra rationem, nemo fidelis contra Regem, nemo Pacificus contra pacem durabilem contendet*, that all true Protestants, rational men, faithfull Subjects, lovers of their Religion, King, Country and Peace, will condescend to what hereafter they shall find propounded.

Therefore by the way, first, let me request all such, whose thoughts cannot but speak themselves interested in these lines, to lay aside all prejudicate opinions, both of my self and others, hitherto practically different from them, prejudice being like a partition-wall, which will hinder the judgements yelding to what is proposed and really made good to be Reason, Religion and Law.

Secondly, that they would banish from their brests that Rebel to Religion and Reason, a too confident tenaciousnesse of their own opinions, not because in their appearance they still continue undoubted truths to their approving judgements; but because the past insinuating Declarations of some cunning Politicians, and rhetoricall Jesuitized perswasions of others, have consonant to their particular erronious maximes, and pre-resolved upon designes urged them to a former practice of unjust and unlawfull actions.

Thirdly, therefore that they would cast away that desperately ruining resolution of *potius male currendo crimina criminibus addere, quàm errorem confiteri recurrendo, veritatemque veritatis adsa. propugnare*, being rather willing to continue slaves to the commission of additionall sins, then by repentance become triumphing Champions, for the sincerity of truth; when as it is far greater and better policy humane and divine, by repentance to return into the way of truth, then by a continuing progresse in erronious paths, to expose themselves to a possible ruine here, and destruction hereafter: Besides, the whole current of the Scriptures every

where

where speaketh mercy and pardon to the penitent (an argument in my judgement sufficient to indeace all thereunto against contrary suggestions of the world and the Devil; nay, the very end of Christs Birth, Death, Resurrection and Ascention onely proclaim an invitation of sinners to come unto him promising them pardon and salvation: Now therefore if that any one in this respect shall turn away his ear, neglecting to hearken to the Charmer, charme he never so well, let them take heed that that place of Scripture, Zech. 1. 4, 5, 6. prove not an evidence against their obstinacy, and the complaint and threats of our Saviour in Mat. 23. 37, 38. concern not them; *O Hierusalem, Hierusalem, which hast killed the Prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thee together, as a hen gathereth her chickens, and you would not: Behold therefore your habitation shall be left desolate.* Ezek. 18. 21. to the end.

From which heavy judgement, O thou preserver of men, keep and defend us all.

But I proceed to lay down my first fundamentall positions, in respect of a Government already established.

That all violent and irregular alteration of Government, contrary to the fundamentall customes and constitutions of every respective Nation: First, if it receive its original from the supream Magistrate, and pressed upon the people, hath always been branded with the names of tyranny and oppession; nor have such sins, (although the Word of God permit not Subjects by armes to rebel against him) passed unpunished oftentimes here in this world; however, without repentance, cannot escape in the world to come.

Secondly, if violently streaming from the seditious, compulsive domination of the people, without and against the supream Magistrates consent, hath ever been stigmatized with those odious titles of *Rebellion and Treason*; whose just rewards are death here, with a successive never-dying infamy, and unlesse the mercy of Heaven interpose, the eternity of death hereafter.

Therefore for the avoyding of Tyranny and Oppression on the one side, preventing of Treason and Rebellion on the other, with all those bloody issues and ruinous effects flowing from thence, *tanquam a fonte sanguinolento*, and consequently those punishments which *tanquam unda sequuntur undas*, tread on the very heels of such offences.

It must necessarily be granted an undeniable truth, that obedience indispensable is due from every Subject of what degree soever, according to the qualification of the persons, unto all Lawes (not opposite to the Law & Word of God) made & confirmed by the supream power of any Nation; and that these Lawes, according to reason, ought and must remain in full force and vertue, untill the same lawfull power, which first gave them the power of a commanding law, shall repeal and nullifie them: That all Christian Subjects do or should yeeld obedience to Kings personall, and the Law his vertuall commands, if not derogatory to the Law of God; not onely because the King, *quatenus Rex*, or the Law, *quatenus Lex tantum*, commandeth the same, but because in his Word he hath laid a precept upon us, both in the fourth Commandement, and in *Rom.* 13. 1, 2, 3. where he enjoyneth every soul to be subject to the higher Powers, &c. and 1 *Pet.* 2. 14, 15, 17. where he commandeth us by his Apostle, to submit our selves to every ordinance of man for the Lords sake; whether it be unto the King, as unto the supream, &c. so that if we deny active obedience to his legall commands, we deny it not to the King, and oppose the Law therein alone, but to God himself, *per*
Prov. 9. 15, 16 *quem Reges regnant*, acting contrary to his will revealed in his Word, and the practice of Christ himself, who gave *Cæsar* his due.

But because peradventure a demonstration of my own judgement about passive obedience (active to Kings, having already been discussed of) may be expected, therefore that I might not leave my self to the uncertain interpretation of any:

I profesſe my self an English Protestant, and therefore in the truest sense, shall not refuse the stile of an English Catholike; disavowing all heretically, idolatrous and superstitious Doctrines and Practices of the Church of *Rome*, and all other Opinions different from, and contradictory unto the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, established in the thirty nine Articles: not because it is established onely, but because it is consonant and agreeable to the Word of God; the truth whereof hath been, is, and hereafter will be made good against all heretical and schismatical Opponents whomsoever.

In particular reference to a lawfull King, and the continuance of his government in peace and piety.

I detest and protest against all Jesuiticall distinctions, destructive tenents to all Religion and Government, of power reserved in Pope or people, of what degree or number soever, whether they be a body *representative conjunctim* (if a body can properly be termed a body without an head) or any particular members *divisim*, under any pretence or intention whatsoever, by force to dispose of, and change the Lawes of a Kingdom, depose Kings, divest them of their lawful power, dispense with Oaths, by which their Subjects stand as well religiously as naturally obliged, resist their lawfull commands by the sword, perswading Subjects to follow their example.

Vide King *James* premonition to christian Princes, and his Apology for the Oath of Allegiance, pag. 50 51, 108, 109. *alibique.*

I acknowledge according to the truth of the Word of God, the practice and precept of Christ himself, the examples of the Prophets and Apostles, the pattern of all the Martyrs, the generally concurring Doctrine of the Catholike Church, now in profession continued in the Church of *England*.

2 Thes. 1. 4. Matth. 26. 51. Matth. 9. 54, 55, 56. Matt. 16. 23. Book of Martyrs, 3. vol. Hom. Church *Engl.* & Artic.

That active obedience is to be yeelded to the King as supream *in omnibus licitis*, in things lawfull; but if God for the punishment of a Nation should set over us a tyrannicall King, *secundum voluntatem pravam non rationem rectam regentem*, governing by his depraved will against reason, and commanding things contrary to the Word of God, we must not by force of arms rebel against him, but rather then so (if not prevailing by Petition unto him, or escaping by flight from him) patiently submit to the losse of our lives & estates, agreeing with the ancient Christians, that *preces & lachrymæ sunt arma ecclesiæ*, that the pen rather then the sword, patience, prayers and teares then actively shedding blood best becommeth Christians: Herein committing my soul into the hands of my faithfull Creator and mercifull Redeemer, who have pronounced them blessed that suffer for righteousnesse sake, and the testimony of a good conscience.

Revel. 2. 10. Mat. 5. 10, 11, 12. 1 Per. 3. 14, 17. 1 Tim. 2. 9.

But I know the Jesuite and others (too neer him in opinion, though remote from him in name) will contract their browes into a frown at this (though Christian like) asseveration and resolution, interposing many ayery suppositious distinctions, and I know not what frivolous questions; all which I shall at present forbear to insert, much more to answer; because they have sufficiently been (in the religious and rationall works of many learned

Homily Chur. *Engl.* Sacred royall Prerogative of christian Kings, printed *Anno* 1644.

ed Writers, both ancient and modern, refuted and made to appear but groundlesse, quickly vanishing into ayre.

not

Beside, his royall Majesty, since the beginning of this unnaturall War, having commanded nor demanded any thing (as in the sequell will appear) contrary to established Law, nor performed any action, which any other Prince as supream might not lawfully have done, *se, sobolem, leges, Regnaque defendendo*: It would be a needlesse, and a labour in vain in me (although in my conscience I approve the same) to spend paper in vindication of a Christians passive obedience, it being a question not arising from the past or present practice of our Soveraign Lord the King; therefore without all question, at present standeth not in need either of mine, or any other his Majesties Subjects defence: For he hath been, and is so far from commanding any unjust things, contrary to the Law of God and the Land, that he hath patiently suffered reproaches against his royall person, deprivation of his noble Consort, dispersion of his Princely Son, hazard of his own life, losse of his Revenues, with many thousands of his loyall Subjects, nay, almost all the comforts which felicitates a mans life upon earth, being at last ufter all these a restrained prisoner: O happy, thrice blessed wals conteyning such a King, pattern of true Piety, president of religious constancy, example of an unparalelled Patience! O unnaturall men! Rebels to the King, Reason, Religion and Law, whose trayterous commands thus turns Princes Pallaces into a royall Prison: And all this he undergoeth, because he would govern onely by Law, and preserve a power in himself, whereby he may be enabled to preserve the Law.

But I proceed, passing by the generall power of a King in Divinity, and in that respect what he may do, and consider him onely as he is King of *England*, in a well setled Government, and therefore to this purpose shall lay down some more fundamentall positions, and unquestionable truths.

Vide all Acts of Parliament confessing the 1. *Jac.* cap. 2. 9 *Edw.* 4 fol. 8

That our Soveraign Lord CHARLES, by the grace of God, is lawfull King of *England*, and of all other his Majesties Dominions and Countries, that he is supream Governour over all persons and in all causes, whether Ecclesiastical or Civil.

That is, There is (by the Law of the Land established, in which

which he is vertually present) no commanding power above him, without him, much lesse against him; nor can, ought or must any *conjunctim* or *divisim*, exercise any governing power within his Majesties Dominions, nor must any willingly expresse subjection or obedience to such an unjust and usurped power, standing in opposition to his lawfull power.

That there are *regales columnæ*, to support this Monarchicall Fabrick from sinking or suffering any injury from any persons whomsoever, as summoning and dismissing of generall Counsels, whether Ecclesiastical or Civil, making or anulling of Laws, that is, his affirmative or negative voyce in Parliament; without which, the Building were rather a painted, then substantiall Edifice.

Secondly, making of War or Peace, that is, disposing of the Militia, of arming his Subjects to prevent forraign Invasions, or suppresse domestick, rebellious Insurrections; without which it would also soon fall by seditious and ambitious underminers: nor could the King without this power be able to defend himself from wrong, or his Subjects from oppression.

Thirdly, creating and disposing of Magistrates, power over life and death, highest and last appeal; without which his title of Supremacy would be a title of supream mockery, the stile of *King a meer contradiction; nay, if he had not these additionals, whereby he is onely abled, *Regis agere partem*, he were rather *Rex titularis quàm realis*; and if so, rather *regulatus*; and therefore in the best sense, but a supream Subject then *Rex regens*, by vertue of his supream power governing his Subjects: were he deprived of these necessary adjuncts to a regall power, he then may (as his Majesty hath well observed himself) be waited up on bare-headed, have his hand kissed, his Authority declared by his Subjects; have Swords and Maces carried before him, and please himself with the sight of a Crown and Scepter: but as to true and reall power, he should remain but the out-side, picture and sign of a King.

* School boys know that *Rex* is but a derivative of *Rego*, which signifies to Govern.

His Answer to the nineteen Propositions, *Anno* 1642.

Now that all these, with many more attributes of power requisite for a King to have, do appertain (by the established Law of this Land) to our Soveraign Lord King CHARLES his Heirs and Successors; I will not trouble the margin with

Lex terræ A-1647. a principio ad finem. Remonst *Feb.* 21. 1647. *alibique scriptis.*

quotations from the Fountain, to make good, but refer the Reader to those pure streams flowing from thence, those brief Collections of that Reverend Lawyer Judge *Jenkins*, who therein *Atlas* like, hath supported the true fundamentall Lawes of *England*, and like a faithfull Expositor, given the most religious, rationall and lawfull practiced sense of them.

But for the cleering hereof, I shall propound some queries to all rationall men, which will (the premises considered) answer of themselves, to which even the knowledge of the meanest judgement, if he know any thing, cannot but assent as reall truth.

Presupposed the King not the King in his minority, although it is as true then, for there is his tacite supream power implied his Protectour.

Whether ever in this Kingdom any new Law was enjoyned or new Oath imposed upon the people in opposition to the Law established; by the two houses *conjunctim*, or by either of them *seperatim*, without, nay, against the King's consent; and if none, as none can be produced, by what power have they contrived Ordinances, and imposed them with a Vow and Covenant, Solemn League and Covenant, contrary to established Law, and his Majesties Proclamation?

J *Jenk.* Remonstr. *Febr.* 21. 1647. *Vide Recordi.*

Whether or no, turbulent, violent and irregular transaction in former Parliaments, wherein Kings have been deposed or necessitated to unlawfull condescentions, through force or fear have not been by succeeding Parliaments made null, and those Parliaments themselves esteemed but as traiterous Assemblies: and so, as cannot be denied, *Res pares cum paribus comparemus*; And let us all pray, that *England* may enjoy the happinesse of a free, lawfully acting, Christian like, peaceable, unbyased, no private self ends respecting, but the truly publike and generall good, cordially affecting, and really effecting Parliament, To which let all true English men, with my self say, *Amen, Amen.*

Whether ever formerly the Lords and Commons *conjunctim*, or either of them *divisim*, had the disposing of the Militia of the Kingdom, did create Magistrates, had power over life and death, to whom highest and last appeal were made, did make a great Seal, acting by vertue thereof, by any Law of the Land established, without, nay against the King's consent? And if there be no Law extant, interesting them in such a power, but on the contrary, it must necessarily be confessed, that all these things

things (by the letter of the Law, and the continuall practice thereof, which is *optimus leges interpres*) do belong to the King's Majesty, his Heirs and Successors: their own Propositions of the second of *June*, 1642. confessing no lesse; for then they petitioned him for a resignation of all these *insignia regalia*, for the removing of fears and jealousies between him and his people; which must necessarily imply a tacite confession, that his Majesty is solely interested in the disposing of them; for to what end should they petition for those things, which without his consent they may claim as their own: and if so, let every mans judgement speak, *Quis reus?* First Book Col. Ordnan. 307.

Whether or no there be any Law remaining established, or any clause reserved in the Law, by vertue whereof the Lords and Commons, or either of them are authorized in any case whatsoever reall, much lesse upon a pretence of any case, to remove Counsellours from his Majesty by force, to imprison his sacred Person, to use the regall Power, to alter the Lawes established, to impose new Lawes without his consent upon his Subjects, and the like, by force: All which, and more then these, have been put in practice since these unhappy times began; and if they cannot produce any Law, or the least resemblance of a Law, nay, of Christian reason, to warrant such like actions, they must give us leave to ask the question, *Who are guilty of Treason?* seeing all these particulars thus usurped, are by the Law declared no lesse. Judge *Jenkins* *Lex terræ* Remonstr. *Frb.* 1647.

And here by the way, let me put them in mind of the different judgement of former Ages, in Bishop *Cranmer*, a glorious Martyr for our Religion, from such kind of positions or practices.

He would not admit of the Popes authority in *England*, because he was pre-engaged to the King by Oath, according to the Law of the Land; affirming, that the Popes authority was against the Crown, Custome, and Lawes of the Kingdom: Now unlesse there be a Law authorizing the People, under what notion soever, to do that which was unlawfull in the Pope to do (the offence being one and the same, com- Book Martyrs

mitted only by differing persons) I know not what to write more, but that Pope and People begin both with one letter; praying God to deliver us from the Pope and Papistical false Doctrines.

As for that old stalking-horse, the fundamental Law, which hath so often and so long been pretended, as an undeniable warrant, authorizing their beginnings and proceedings in opposition to his Majesty: Truly loyall English hearts and rationall men will no sooner credit that there is such a Law, because of their meer declarative affirmation, then that there is such an one as *Atlas*, really supporting the Heavens with his shoulders, because Poets have delivered so much to succeeding Ages, in their feigned writings.

There indeed not any such Law, warranting these kind of actions, for none hitherto hath appeared in view; it being a maxime, that *quod non apparet jure non est*; therefore shall be bold to put them in mind of part of Master *Pym's* speech at the beginning of this Parliament, leaving the application to their consideration.

The Law is that which putteth a difference between good and evill, between just and unjust; if you take away the Law all things will fall into a confusion, every man will become a Law to himself; which in the depraved condition of humane nature, must needs produce many great enormities: Lust will become a Law, Envy will become a Law, Ambition will become a Law; and what dictates and decisions such Lawes will produce, may easily be discerned. Thus far Master *Pym*.

Now that these things may not come to passe in its height however, and perfection in these our dayes: Let us pray, that the Lord would grant us all grace to tread constant steps in the path of his Law, giving us loyall hearts to the King, and causing us to expresse a reall, not verball obedience to the Law of the Land.

Further, because *humanum est errare*, and *omnis perfectio nostra est imperfectio*; all of us being full of originall sin; by reason of which, the suggestion of Satan, and the enticing pleasures and

and profits of this life, we are alas (*quamvis Christiani*, though ſtiled Chriſtians) yet ready to commit ſin with greedineſſe againſt the God of heaven; as alſo, too too apt to prefer our own private advantage and intereſt before the publike good and benefit, not minding the peoples happineſſe in practiſing pietie, and enjoying Peace the mother of plenty, but oftentimes, ſpurred on by avaritious and ambitiouſly aſpiring thoughts; we neglect rendring to God his, and all other degrees of men, from the Prince to the meaneſt of the people, their reſpective dues, which often occaſioneth that confuſion, like a fierce torrent overfloweth, and ruine like a boiſterous ſtorme, ſuddenly ſhipwracks a well governed Kingdom.

Therefore are Oathes *tanquam Clavi religioſi*, framed to keepe this building of Government more firme and cloſe together: To this end the Oathes of Alleagiance and Supremacy are by the Law of the Land injoyned to be taken by all Perſons capable thereof, eſpecially men imployed in any publicke Office, but more particularly the Houſe of Commons in Parliament, *ſine quo non eſt talis*. 5. *Eliz.* cap. 1.

In which they ſweare without Equivocation or mentall reſervation, to beare Faith and true alleagiance to his Majeſtie his Heires and Succeſſours, to defend him and them againſt all Conſpiracies and attempts whatſoever againſt their Perſons, Crown and Dignitie.

Now let all reaſonable Men conſider, and within their owne judgements reſolve theſe queſtions themſelves. Is it maintenance of his Majeſties crown and dignity, and defence againſt all attempts, &c. Coll. Ordn. firſt book, 93.

To force the *Militia* inſeperably belonging to the Crown, from him, under pretence of groundleſſe feares and jealouſies.

Is it maintenance of his Crowne and Dignitie, I meane his regall Crowne of Government to demand, as they did, in their nineteen Propoſitions, all governing Kingly power from him; plainly then ſpeaking, that their intent was not to maintaine (notwithſtanding their glorious pretences) Firſt book Coll. Par. Ordn. pag. 309, 310. *June* 1642.

the Law, nor reſolution *ad errores reformandum*, but *regimen Angliæ mutandum*. For had they really intended as they verbally often pretended in their Ordinances and Declarations, Preſervation of the Law of the Land, his Majeſties royall perſon, honour and Eſtate, juſt Prerogative and Soveraignty; they ſhould have provided (having alſo declared in that grand Remonſtrance to the Kingdome, that their intent was to reſtore the ancient honour, greatneſſe and ſecurity of the Crowne.) More wals of Braſſe, if it were poſſible to invent (which I muſt confeſſe paſſeth my beleefe) more, and a more excellent one, for preventing any more ſhaking of the Law eſtabliſhed, by intrenching upon the Kings juſt Prerogative and the Subjects Liberty, then the Triennial Parliament, which they confeſſe themſelves to be a perpetuall Spring of remedies for the future. And not on the firſt Onſet, *Magis Poſtulare quam Petere*, totally require rather then deſire the Kings royall Power; for that end breaking all hedges of publicke and generall liberty to preſerve or advantage ſome few private peeces of incloſed grounds.

Coll. Ordn. 130. *alibique.*

Fo. 15. Coll. Ordn. *Decemb.* 1641.

Nineteen Propoſ.

Is it faith and alleagiance, and a Declaration in your Conſciences, that none hath power to diſcharge Subjects from their Alleagiance and Obedience to his Majeſty?

Oath of Alleagiance and Supremacy.

To frame Oathes wherein you ingage your fellow Subjects, even in a manner, to proteſt againſt their alleagiance and obedience to his Majeſtie; by Covenanting to aſſiſt the Forces raiſed and continued by both Houſes, who are but Subjects (elſe why doe they Petition to his Majeſty in thoſe ſubmiſſive ſtiles, Of his Majeſties moſt humble and loyall Subjects) againſt the Forces raiſed by the King; and that they ſhall nor directly nor indirectly aſſiſt the Forces raiſed by the King, without the conſent of both Houſes; witneſſe their Vow and Covenant, Ordered *die Sabbathi* 1643. and and their latter compoſed Negative Oath, much to the ſame effect.

Coll. Ordn. 93, 138.

Is it a Declaration in your Conſcience, that the Kings highneſſe is the onely ſupreame Governour of this Realme,

Oath of Supremacy.

and

and all other his Majesties Dominions. To deprive him of his Negative voyce in Parliament, to create Magistrates, to exercise a power over the life and death of his Subjects, nay to doe any thing, but what Subjects ought to doe, and Oaths oblige unto?

Is it a defence of all Jurisdictions and Priviledges, Preheminences and Authorities belonging to the Kings highnesse, his heirs and Successours, and annexed to the imperiall crown of this Realm?

To declare that the King is not in a condition to govern, to imprison him, to affirm that they will make no more addresses unto him, that they will settle the government of the Kingdom without and against him? Answer to the *Scots* Declaration, *Novemb.* 28. 1647.

These considered, I appeal to all: hear O heaven, judge O earth, with yee Inhabitants of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*; who are guilty of perjury? I am sure none but will confesse that the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy are lawfull in themselves, commanded by a compleatly lawfull authority, remaining enjoyned & confirmed by act of Parliament, therefore ought to be taken by all, according to the literall sense thereof, and endeavours used to perform the same, according to each mans uttermost ability.

As for that exception favouring more of a Turkish or Jesuiticall, then of a Christian Protestant's affirmative judgement; nay, it is contrary to common reason, and altogether vain.

For any one to apprehend, that singular persons one by one, are obliged to the observation of these Oaths, but a body representative is one; as if one man alone could be perjured, and yet that the multiplication of that unite (equally engaged both in the keeping and the breach thereof) to four hundred, gave a dispensation from the guiltinesse of the sin, as if an offender were an offender, because *quatenus homo unicus per se peccans*, sinning as one man alone; and not because the offence committed was a deviation from the Law of God, Reason or the Law; when as it is far more correspondent to reason, to affirm that the more the Offenders are, the more

more guilty, becauſe more ſpreading; and the greater the Offenders are, as repreſentitave bodies, or Magiſtrates abuſing a conferred power are more dangerous, becauſe exemplary, for *citius ducti per exempla quàm præcepta*, we are too apt to follow ſin in a multitude, eſpecially if they be great perſons of repute, pretending aſſertours and reformers, though they prove deſertours and deformers of Religion, Lawes and Liberties. Beſides, God in the Scriptures commandeth us not to follow a multitude to do evil, which implieth that a multitude may do evil; and what is a repreſentitative body but a multitude, in a grammaticall ſenſe, and therefore if they do evil, they muſt not be followed: Nay, the whole current of God's Word runs with variety of judgements threatned againſt all that are in authority, if they recede from his Commandements. The Prophet *Micah*, with others, are full in this reſpect, *Micah* 3. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. *Amos* 6. 11, 12, 13, 14. *Hoſea* 5. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15. O come therefore for the prevention of ſuch like judgements, and the removing from us what we already lye under, let us by a timely repentance, return unto the God of heaven, humbly entreating him that he would forgive us all our ſins; more particularly that he would not lay this hainous ſin of Perjury to *England's* charge, but give us grace to mourn and weep for that, and all others which have occaſioned our Land to mourn in miſery, and weep in blood.

You may ſee many more among the reſt of the Prophets.

Now to contract the premiſed ſeverals into a narrower compaſſe, thereby to make this rooting deſign appear plainly to all.

I ſhall deſire all rationall men to take notice, that the Lords and Commons in that grand Remonſtrance to the Kingdom, in *December* 1641. and their Petitions to his Majeſtie, Declarations and Ordinances, Preambles to their Proteſtation, Vow and Covenant, Solemn League and Covenant, which were but as ſo many applications to the people, for their information and procuration of their approbations aſſiſtance and affections; alwayes pretended a preſervation of the Kings Honour, Rights and Authority, the Law

of

of the Land, the Proteſtant Religion, the Liberty and Propriety of the Subject. To this purpoſe you ſhall find many expreſſions.

In the grand Remonſtrance they complain of the Jeſuited Papiſts, &c. and a malignant Party, pernicious deſigns to ſubvert the fundamentall Lawes and principles of Government, on which the Religion and juſtice of this Kingdom is eſtabliſhed. Col. Ordnan. fo 3.

They confeſſe the King to be truſted with the Eccleſiaſtical law, as well as temporall, that next under God the people owe obedience unto him. Coll. Ordn. fo.19.

They profeſſe, their intent was not to aboliſh all government, and leave every man to his own fancy, for the ſervice and worſhip of God, but to reduce within bounds the exorbitant power which ſome Prelates had aſſumed to themſelves, contrary to the Word of God, and law of the land.

Where by the way takes notice, that then there was no mention made of extirpating Epiſcopall Government, ſince that, as much as in them lyeth, by their ſolemn League and Covenant, and Ordinances effected.

They profeſſe to maintain the true Proteſtant Religion, the Kings juſt Prerogative, the lawes and liberties of the Land, and the priviledges of Parliament. Coll. Ordn. 281.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion, *That an Army ſhall be forthwith raiſed for the ſafety of the Kings perſon, preſerving of the true Religion, Lawes, Liberties and Peace of the Kingdom.* 12. July 1642 fo.457.

There they expreſſe fears, that the true Proteſtant Religion and Lawes will be extinguiſhed, &c. Fo. 461.

That they will maintain and ſupport his Majeſties royall Honour and greatneſſe. Fo. 466.

But I will trouble the Reader with no more expreſſions of this nature; the firſt Book of collection of Ordinances, if he pleaſe, will afford him variety.

Take a brief view of their Preambles to all their Oaths,

which they pretend as motives and grounds occasioning their framing and imposing them.

May 5. 1641.

*we the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses in Parliament, &c. having cause to suspect endeavours still continuing to subvert the true reformed Protestant Religion in his Majesties Dominions * established, and the fundamentall Lawes, and to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannicall Government, &c. therefore make this ensuing Protestation &c.*

*Observe that Established.

June 1643. in their Vow and Covenant.

There they declare, *That there hath been, and is a Popish and traiterous Plot for the subversion of the true Protestant Religion, &c.*

Thus you may perceive how in all their applications to the common people, they still urge intentions of preserving the King's just Prerogative and royall Rights, true Protestant Religion, the Lawes and Liberties of the Land: Now this must necessarily, according to common sense, be construed by the common people (whatsoever private reserved resolutions to the contrary, the framers of the Oathes and Ordenances had to themselves) a preservation and defence of Religion, Prerogatives, Rights, Lawes and Liberties, which are established and in being; for according to that old adage, *ex nihilo nil fit.*

But alas, these specious pretences were but Decoyes sent abroad to catch the plain hearted people, and the lesse advised multitude into a complying assistance; their hands and tongues must help toward the demolition of *England's* ancient and well compacted Monarchical Fabrick; their breathlesse

leſſe bodies muſt be inſtrumentall piles, to mount theſe Deſigners into the chair of a new modelized, pre-intended Government.

To this purpoſe therefore (contrary to all their Paper intelligencers, daily diiſperſed among the people) they in their firſt Propoſitions to his Majeſty (as I have already obſerved) lay the foundation, though cunningly, of this generall alteration in Church and State, wherein they had left nothing more to demand of him, but that (as a King, he had nothing more to grant.) Nineteen Propoſitions.

Which deſign of theirs hath appeared in more legible, additionall demands in their ſucceeding Treaties and Propoſitions, from that time unto this very day, wherein they have violently deprived his Majeſty of his regall power; he at preſent being ſo far from commanding as a * King, that his power in commanding is far below the commanding power of ſome of his meaneſt Subjects: *Proh dolor! uſque quo domine uſque quo*; how long, Lord, how long, holy and true, wilt thou ſuffer the Rod of the wicked to remain upon the back of the righteous? how long ſhall the workers of iniquity triumph, ſpeaking fiercely, ſmiting down thy people and troubling thy Heritage? Deliver our Soveraign thy ſervant King CHARLES from cruell men, who imagine evil things in their heart, making war continually; whoſe tongues are ſharper then a Serpent, and under whoſe lips lye the poyſon of Adders, *Amen*. Being kept as a Priſoner in the Iſle of *Wight*.

Again, to make theſe Rooters deſign appear plainer and plainer to every eye, the Treaties at *Oxford*, and ſince at *Uxbridge*, (at which time nothing was left ungranted by his Majeſty, whereby his people might be ſatisfied) but that he would have ſomething left, I ſay, as King, to give; will evidence it to any impartiall judgement.

At *Oxford*, *Anno* 1643. the maine diſpute betweene his Majeſtie and the two Houſes Commiſſioners was, who ſhould have the Power of Nomination and Election of State-Officers. The Right to both belonged to his Maje-

ſtie; how ever, ſo deſirous was he of Peace and a Reconciliation (his heart bleeding in tenderneſſe within, for the loſſe of ſo much of his Subjects blood) did readily and willingly condeſcend that the Power of Nomination ſhould be theirs, reſerving choice of them to himſelfe.

Now let us weigh the inequality, in reference to the prevention of the effuſion of more blood. It may be ſuppoſed upon grounds of reaſon, that if I have the Power of Nomination, I will not name any one in whom I cannot confidently repoſe my truſt, and of whom I have not a good opinion; therefore, if it be onely Peace and a mutuall agreement betweene two differing Parties, where it is ſometimes fitting that both ſhould abate of the rigour of their demands, what need I care who chooſeth, or upon whom the election falleth, ſeeing they are all equall in my eſteeme: But this would not doe; they muſt have the Kings Supremacy, Election too, all, or as yet no peace; otherwiſe indeed the Civill Government cannot be altered from a Monarchy into an Ariſtocracy; and ſo by degrees ſubdivide it ſelfe into a Democracy. The Eccleſiaſticall cannot be changed from Epiſcopacy into Presbytery, and ſo againe into Independency or confuſion; viſibly at this day ſo appearing. Whereas if theſe men preintended not theſe things, but had really intended Peace, or reſented the then bleeding condition and ruining Kingdome of *England*, they would not ſurely have ſtood upon ſuch unneceſſary punctilioes, not any way abſolutely availeable to the generall good of the Nation; though abſolutely neceſſary Rights belonging to his Majeſty, with which he could neither in Honour, Juſtice, or Conſcience voluntarily part. O Lord forgive them, forgive them ſuch their unreaſonable and unſeaſonable Demands, and lay not to their charge thoſe ſeverall bloudy iſſues which (ſince that time) have guſh'd out in many places of this Kingdome, *Amen.*

Againe, let us take notice of the further progreſſe, for *ne-*

mo repente fit turpissimus, of these destructive Engeneers.

Hath not his Majestie resigned all his regall Power, since that, unto the two Houses during his life, being onely desirous that his royall Children may receive no prejudice by his too gracious condiscentions, freely offering a generall Pardon, and an Act of Oblivion to every one. Yet this will not satistie them; they must have him forfeit his Honour and Reason, by acknowledging himselfe the Fountaine and originall cause of their unnaturally shedding of his Subjects blood; (strange action, that the gulty Offenders must be justified, and the Offended guiltlesse desired unjustly to condemne themselves) and wound his Conscience by pulling upon himselfe and Posterity that eating sinne of Sacriledge, by assenting unto an utter Extirpation of Episcopall government, and a devastation of the Churches patrimony, contrary to his Oath taken at his Coronation.

Thus still you see the Designe of these Rooters at first, was to alter the Government of this Kingdome; and to that end have to deprive his Majestie of his regall Power, which since hath been openly avowed in their Declaration concerning the *Scots* Papers 13. *Mar.* 1647. Fo. 20, 24, 30, 33.

But peradventure, some will say that they are zealous supporters of the Subjects Liberties, and quellers of wicked actions, as Swearing, immoderate drinking, breaking of the Sabboth, and the like.

To which I returne an answer in generall, that nothing can be more desired, either for the suppressing or punishing of all sinfull words and deeds, and all such viciously guilty Persons; or conducing to the liberty of the Subject; if men desire onely to enjoy liberty under a Law, and not live as libertines without a Government than what was established and confirmed by Act of Parliament, before ever they exposed their grand Remonstrance, that seede-Plott of ——— to the view of the World; witnesse that Declaration it selfe, which recounteth several Decemb. 1641

rall

rall Acts of favour condeſcended unto by his Majeſtie for the Subjects benefit; which with that laſting Bulwarke of preventing or remedying Errours, the Trienniall Parliament, were enough to ſatisfie any but ſeditious and ambitiouſly aſpiring thoughts. To make this appeare, It is worthy obſervation, that after the iſſuing out of that Remonſtrance, not one Propoſition was ever tendered to his Majeſtie, really tending to the generall good and liberty of every Subject; but whatſoever were preſented unto him under the title of Propoſitions, contained nothing but Demands, *in ordine ad Cauſam*, in order to this Deſigne of alteration and change of Government. Now at this very day (as every one not prepoſſeſſed with prejudice, cannot but grant) the viſible purchaſe of Hypocriſie, Perjury, blood and oppreſſion; an ill foundation, and the worſt lime to erect a building with, and which moſt commonly is followed with ſucceeding heavy judgements; *From which good Lord deliver us.*

Micah 3.9,10, 11,12.

To this purpoſe further; you have already ſeene Ordinances framed, Oathes contrived for the Eradication of Epiſcopall government; and leaſt it ſhould by degrees, like a Flowe preſſed downe by the violence of a falling ſhowre, riſe againe in future times, when more favourable ſunny dayes appear, they have expoſed to Sale its Lands, the Churches patrimony.

You have ſeen the Presbyterian Government alſo digeſted into Ordinances, the preaching of it into approbation, the practice of it in ſeverall Churcher in *London*, and other adjacent parts, the peoples obedience preſſed thereunto by Divines of the preſent Synod.

You have ſeen the civill Government alſo changed, Ordinances of ons or both houſes ſupplying the place of Acts of Parliament, without the Royall aſſent; Demands of a totall reſignation of his Majeſties regall Power; and becauſe not in every reſpect condeſcended unto (as what father will be ſo unjuſt to his Poſterity, though he may be uncharitable to himſelf,

himself, as to deprive them of their Inheritance, contrary to the Law of Nature, Religion and Law) the King therefore detained a Prisoner.

Tantumne potest suadere malorum
religio!

Thus you may see the Designers riding triumphantly in the bloody Chariot of their compassed Ends, Revelling it at the Helmes of the Church and State, whilest their Royall injured Master is forced to a sad Cabbin under decks.

O that my abused Country-Men would seriously consider of the Premises, and that they would at length desert these Impostors, who by their glorious pretences of Reformation, have deceived them into a Ruining assistance of themselves and others; not thinking it a shame to confesse an errour, and return when their Judgements are informed, that their former Judgements and practises have been erronious.

Againe, you have seene the meanes used by them toeffect their ends; by Perjury, infringing their Oathes of Alleagiance, Supremacy, and their owne famed Protestation, by the effusion of Blood. And here I cannot choose but adde my feares, that some tall and gloriously spreading Cedars of Church and State, have rather beene hewen downe, because they hindered the Prospect of others, or prejudiced the rising growth of some Neighbour shrubs than fallen because rotten, useless or cumbersome to the grounds; which if true, (as some in the world best know) we had all need to pray that the Lord would even in the blood of Christ Jesus wash this Nation, especially from such kinde of blood-guiltinesse.

You may read the sad effects of these Designes, A wronged King in distresse; A discontented Nobilitie; A disconsolate and dispersed Gentry; A disgraced disparaged and defamed Orthodox Cleargy; A murmuring and repining Commonalty

Communalty; An impoverished Countrey; A selfe-dishonouring Nation, Division, Ambition, Sedition and Security, the forerunners of a generall ruine and desolation.

Helpe O Lord least we perish; And it be said of us, What is become of that glory of Nations, *England?* formerly feared and beloved by all, yet not for feare expressing love to any, least what was omce spoken of *Troy*, be affirmed true of our Kingdome

Jam seges est ubi Anglia fuit.

You may every where see God dishonoured, the Church of God unfrequented; Schismes and Prophaneness every where abounded, and Heresies of all sorts, even to the denying of the Deity of Christ, the holy Scriptures, the immortality of the soule, and all these if not publiquely maintained, yet connived at by those who pretend otherwise; you may see all Religion contracted into tongue discourse, Sanctification swallowed up by Justification; as if because Christ dyed to save Sinners, we must therefore wilfully sinne if we will be saved; you have many running so farre from the Papists meritorious hope of gaining heaven by good Workes, that they expect in haste to post thither by a barren Faith; arguing, nay esteeming good Workes as altogether unnecessary; whenas indeed they must both be concomitants; for such a Faith without Workes will prove but a lame Sacrifice; and Workes without Faith will be but a blinde Offering, never finde the way to heaven.

By assessements, Contributions, Excise, &c.

You may see *London*, an envyed City, declined in the affections of all abroad, because they were blinded in their affections by these deceivers at home, who by degrees have eaten out the very heart of her Honour, Wealth and Reputation.

You

You have seen many of her Citizens tossed too and fro with every winde of Doctrine, steering their course with the current of each prevailing Faction, rather yeelding to a destruction, then endeavouring a preservation of the Cities honour and wealth.

You have seen her well proportioned and admirable Government dashed in pieces, the wisdom of some of her wise men degenerated into a self-contriving Interest and Advantage, neglecting the Cities good in generall.

You have seen her grand Counsell turned into a Counsell of War, combining with the unruly Sword, to disturb, nay to destroy the Inhabitants with her civill Government; many sacrificing their fellow-Citizens, to the disposall of domineering Faction: spirits who eat the bread of extortion, and drink the wine of violence. Prov. 4. 17.

You have seen the Cities peace, (formerly even to the envy of their Neighbours, dwelling onely within her walls) whilest blood, want and poverty ran like a devouring Lyon up and down each Country) interrupted by those who had most reason to preserve it in peace.

You have seen Sword-men, strangers unto you (if you consider your selves as Citizens of that famous Metropolis) by some stiled your servants, because entertained and paid you; but howsoever, I say, not ser-

vants to the City, but more truely servants to the factious vipers within the City, even glorying in dying the stones of your streets with your own childrens blood.

Nay consider, I appeal to the whole City, what practicall Law have you almost left now in use, but the Law of imprisonment, whereby some men (first being made prerendly guilty of that old ayery bugbear crime, ill affection, or if you will, that beldam fault malignancy, that is, that will not swim in the same current of such hainous sins with the faction) are (to use their own word) secured; or others by reason of their long continuing distractions, being disabled so fully and speedily to satisfie some griping Creditors their debts, are the sooner hastened by additionall necessity, want and grief, to a satisfaction of the last debt they owe to nature in a loathsom prison.

Or else, that (in it self excellent) but (as it is now used) bloody lettered Law, for suppressing and punishing pretended mutinies, which only like a Gyant, standeth armed at the door, that so each successive Faction may the more freely ruine within; in the mean time, denying the entrance either of justice, mercy, peace or truth.

You have long since seen the Pulpit from whence nothing but the sincerity of truth, religious admonitions, holy advice, perswasively tending to the practice of godlinesse and true righteousnesse should issue forth, turned into a sophisticall Desk, to distract the brains of men with strange distinctions of Government, new fangled Doctrines, perswading their Auditors

tors persons and Estates to an assisting compliance in the late Wars.

You have heard bitter expressions there against the established Government of the Kingdom, some envying like mad, more more then rationall men, much lesse Christians against Episcopacy as Antichristian, and the book of Common Prayer as unlawfull and erronious, their best arguments being but invective railings; although one hath stood the shock unmoved of the most fiery opponents, and the other a perfect pattern of true Piety, both of them receiving approbation and applause from all other Protestant Churches beyond the Seas, being onely disgraced and defamed, though without just cause, at home, by children of her owne womb.

You have heard the Ceremonies of the Church stiled limbs of Antichtist, and others perswaded that they were imposed on tender consciences as necessaries; whenas indeed their own consciences could not but inform them the contrary, and that they were onely ordained for order and decency sake.

Besides, if any one seemed offensive to tender consciences, his Majesty (long before the Sword was unsheathed) graciously promised an exemption from observance of them, and therefore needed not to have been made Arguments perswading to blood. His Majesties Answer to the Kingdoms Remonstrance *Decemb.* 1641.

You have seen learned Divines, Doctor *Featly*, that brazen wall of our Religion, who unrazed, hath maintained his hold, retorting the Jesuites arrowes into their own brests with shamefull wounds: Doctor

 Holsworth

Holſworth, a lively pattern of Piety: with many other religious and learned Divines, impriſoned and diſgraced.

And my dear Country-men, *ad quem finem hæc omnia*, to what end think you did all theſe things tend? Pray conſider, you may ſee the reſult of all quickly, in what concerneth you to whom I write, I meane you miſled inſtruments, for I intend not (as I have already written) the contrivers hereof no further then as I am a Chriſtian to pray for their repentance, converſion and forgiveneſſe.

You have been pleaſed, like children, in lieu of things ſubſtantiall, with toyes, as pulling down of May-poles, deſtruction of ſenſeleſſe ſtony croſſes, Reformation of Tavern ſigns by fantaſticall cringers inſerted inſtead of Angels pictured; I think leaſt the ſight of ſuch ſhadowes ſhould put the miſled people in minde of thoſe reall Angels in heaven, and thereby fright or invite them into a too ſoon repentance.

You have had as fruits of your endeavoured Reformation, ignorant painted glaſſe windowes broken, the Communion-table removed, the Font locally changed, though as by Baptiſme we are viſibly initiated into the Chriſtian Congregation, it more ſignificantly became the entrance into, then the body of the materiall Church, yet neither of them ſo abſolutely and meerly neceſſary, as to counterpoize blood.

Heu pro quantillo pacem perdidimus.

You have had a new Directory, a piece made like wax,

wax, apted for any impreſſion, eaſily ſqueezed into any form by active brains.

You have had a Catechiſme in a large Character, the iſſue of above ſix yeers labour; which ever ſince King *Edward* the ſixt's dayes, you might have furniſhed your ſelves with, in a ſmaller print, at an eaſie rate.

And to knit all theſe together, you have the Presbyterian Government practized in place and oppoſition to the Epiſcopall, and what have you purchaſed by this? onely an intermixture of Lay-men with the Clergy (as afterward I ſhall plainly make appear) for the managing of Eccleſiaſticall affairs, both concerning Doctrine and Diſcipline.

Heu pro quàm parvis tantum ſanguinis effudimus!

Thus much I write (God the ſearcher of all hearts is my witneſſe) not to revile any Divines of the Presbyterian Party, whom I honour as Ambaſſadours from Heaven, when they diſpenſe the truth of of God's Word: but they muſt give me leave to acquaint them, that unleſſe they can ſhew any better grounds then I have hitherto read or heard from any of them ſince theſe unnaturall Wars, for the making good the lawfulneſſe of introducing this their meer alteration of Government by blood, contrary to the Kings conſent, and the warrant of the Law of the Land, and having not the leaſt ground for it in

 the

the Word of God: No errours formerly in Government being unreformed by his Majesty, no lawfull means by a Synoy legally called and elected for redresse of what possibly could be found either unnecessary or burdensome in the Church to really tender consciences, being by him also denied; the Poynt of Government being then onely, and still is the difference between his Majesty and the two Houses; Therefore although the Protestants and they mutually agree in the fundamentals of faith, and many other necessary truthes; yet I say, I cannot but certifie them, that neither my self, nor any Protestant of *ENGLAND* have reason to beleeve that they have kept so close to the rule of God's Word, Reason and the Law, as they should have done, or perhaps may prend. Therefore,

Malachi 2.7.

If they have any Arguments now in this juncture of time, besides that of meerly ignorant persons professions of their good intentiõs, & good meaning, which they know will not excuse a *toto*, though in some things in may a *tanto*. It being a common excuse of many in these times, though they still persist in their irregularly, first begun courses, they may perform a Christian like and wise duty to themselves for their owne vindication, and to others, for their information, to divulge them to the world; or if they cannot produce any, that then they would be perswaded even for Christ Jesus sake, the Bishop of our soules, to returne and doe their first workes, least God come against them and us, and remove our

Candle-

Candleſtick out of its place. But I proceed:

Becauſe the introduction of the Presbyterian government in the Church, and a proportionable alteration of the Civill Government in the State is by ſome Miniſters of that Party cryed up as the *unum neceſſarium*, tending to their preintended Reformation, and the fulfilling of their ſolemne League and Covenant; I ſhall endeavour (although the Deſigners intents probably were to lock faſt the Common Peoples Conſciences thereby unto them) to make good, according to the rule of Reaſon, Religion and Law, that nothing leſſe is comprehended and contained therein; ſo that none ſtand ingaged, unleſſe they wilfully will perſiſt in ſin, by their further aſſiſtance to endeavour a compleating of their Innovation.

To this purpoſe I ſhall deſire all a little to reflect backe upon what I have already premiſed; how that ſeeing the irregular faction of the two Houſes alwayes applyed themſelves to the Common People as aſſertours and maintainors of the Law, Religion and the Kings juſt rights: towards which the aſſiſtance of many have been deſired, and accordingly yeelded; they themſelves having deſerted their own Principles acted, in oppoſition to the Law and their owne Oathes and Covenant, as I have made good they are not in theis owne ſence (though for my part I deny that they were ever at firſt in a lawfull ſence ingaged) to take notice of their Ordinances and Commands: But rather to uſe all poſſible lawfull meanes for the Reſtoring of his Majeſtie to his

juſt

juſt Rights, The eſtabliſhed Religion both in Doctrine and Diſcipline, to its former purity in practice, according to Law, the Parliament of *England* to its ancient genuine freedome, and regular Priviledges, and the reſetling of Peace & truth in Church and State.

And to this effect, becauſe ſome peradventure may apprehend themſelves conſcienciouſly ingaged by the ſolemne League and Covenant to continue their aydes in firmly ſetling the Presbyterian Government; I ſhall for the removing of ſuch obliging apprehenſions (paſſing by the unlawfulneſſe of contriving, impoſing, and indeed unwarrantableneſſe of entring into it at firſt; in which regard I acknowledge it contrary to the Lawes of the Land and authority of Scriptures) give a truely Chriſtian and lawfull conſtruction thereof, as it did at firſt literally, and ſtill doth onely appeare to the takers thereof, who at firſt were not Concatenated Deſigners, and therefore for the better clearing of Mens judgements herein, ſhall firſt propound ſome neceſſary Qualifications and Limitations of Promiſſary Oathes; being bold to affirme, that if any afterwards ſhall obſtinately perſiſt in remaining Inſtrumentally Active for this Innovaſion; that I cannot ſee how they can free themſelves from being wilfully guilty of oppoſing Reaſon, Religion and Law, as alſo rending in peeces all holy and obligatory Oathes and Covenants.

That

That all Promissory lawfull Oaths being religious bonds, must be taken in a literall and Gramaticall sense, and all lawfull endeavours used for the performance of each clause contained therein, as they plainly appear (not admitting of alteration afterwards, or a contradiction by the mentall Reservations of the Imposers) at the time of taking thereof to the judgment and understanding of him that sweareth, otherwise a man cannot sweare in Judgement.

That if any clause shall be inserted into any Oath directly opposite to the Word of God, or if any part of an Oath cannot be observed and performed without intrenching upon the breach of Gods Lawes, the one *ipso facto* is void, for *Rei illicitæ nulla obligatio*, and the other ingageth to a * repentance only, and not to endeavours of performance; for *per juramentum non tenemur nisi ad bonum & legale*, by Oaths men are bound to nothing, but what is lawfull and good, either in respect of the end to which Oaths have a respect, or meanes conducing to that end; therefore in all such kind of Oaths, their generall conditions should be inserted, however are necessarily implied, (*if I can, if it shall please God, if lawfully I may*) for *nemo tenetur ad impossibile*, and *nil possimus quod non de Jure possimus*; both possible and things lawfull must be the substance of Oaths, otherwise we cannot sweare in righteousnesse.

* *Impia panitenda promissio, non perficienda.*

That no particular sentence in a secondary Oath destructive unto, or different from any former lawfull ingagement, ought to be kept; therefore any Oath imposed by the irregular factions of the two Houses must not receive a construction, or actions accordingly used in opposition to the Affirmatively and Negatively Genuine, and commonly received and practised sense of the former Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, both lawfull in themselves, and still according to Law resting established, least we adde sinnes of Omission to sinnes of Commission; but what is lawfull in any second Oath we must performe, what is not, we must forbear.

That in all clauses in Oaths concerning Reformation, preservation or defence of any thing, that thing necessarily must be extant, must have a being, otherwise we obliging our selves (if we can properly be said to be ingaged to nothing) to nothing,

 attest

atteſt God as witneſſe thereunto, thereby mocking him, and taking his holy Name in vaine, and in ſo doing erre againſt his third Commandement; therefore the Presbyterian Government not being particularly mentioned in the Covenant, nor at the firſt taking thereof, now about foure years and an halfe ſince digeſted in England into any form, much leſſe obedience thereunto commanded, cannot be intended as a fulfilling of the Covenant; but the words *Reforme, preſerve*, and *defend*, muſt have a regard to the Doctrine, Diſcipline, and Government eſtabliſhed: as for that evaſion (that the then takers of the Covenant diſpenſed with reſolutions and actions of preſervation, &c. untill the ſame ſhould afterwards be ſetled) it is altogether unlawfull and vaine; nor can any one by ſo doing obſerve the Prophets counſell in Oaths, which muſt be taken in *Righteouſneſſe, Judgement* and *Truth*.

Theſe things premiſed, I proceed to the Oath it ſelf,—only by the way, let me put you in mind of your firſt Oaths of Allegeance and Supremacy, with your Proteſtation, an Epitome of the former in theſe words, *I promiſe, vow and proteſt to maintaine ſo far as lawfully I may, his Majeſties Royall Perſon, Honor, and Eſtate; the true Reformed Proteſtant Religion, expreſſed in the Doctrine of the Church of England, &c.* For explanation whereof I referre you to what already hath been ſaid concerning the Oaths of Allegeance and Supremacy, adviſing every one to conſider ſeriouſly that place in 30. *Numb.* 2. Ver. *If a man vow a Vow unto the Lord, or ſweare an Oath to bind his ſoule with a bond, he ſhall not breake his word, he ſhall do according to all that proceedeth out of his mouth.*

Solemne League and Covenant.

We Noble-men, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, Burgeſſes, Miniſters of the Goſpell, and Commons of all ſorts in the Kingdom of England &c. by the providence of God living under one King. Vnder one King, that according to common ſenſe and reaſon, muſt imply obedience and ſubjection in us unto him as a King enabled with power to governe, and that obedience muſt preſuppoſe a rule of reaſon, and law, (now what that Law is, I have already handled) to ſquare our actions of obedience by.

O that the people of England, &c. would in in this reſpect obey

obey the Precept of Christ,----*Give unto Cæsar what belongs unto Cæsar*; His Majestie never expected more then what the Law manifesteth to be justly his, why then should we give him lesse? Nay, endeavour to deprive him altogether of what we have neither reason, nor just power to attempt? Witnesse all his Declarations.

And being of one reformed Religion.----This must necessarily intend our Religion established, a Religion that is, not that shall be, which Religion commandeth obedience to all His Majesties lawfull commands, denieth the Subjects Liberty to take up armes against their lawfull Soveraigne, acknowledgeth him to be Supreme in *all causes, and over all persons, as well Ecclesiasticall as Civill, &c.* that to him properly and wholly belongeth the government of all Estates of this Realme, therefore without and against his consent, no different Government can be introduced. The Covenant. Vide homilies, & 37. Artic. Church Engl.

Having before our eyes the glory of God.----God is never more glorified then when we expresse a willing obedience to his commands. two whereof emphatically enjoyne obedience to Superiors, and forbid wrong and prejudice to be offered by any to any one whomsoever.---- Covenant.

First, *Honour thy Father and Mother*, that is, all those that have authority over us, as all Expositors upon good grounds render the meaning of it.

Secondly, *Thou shalt not covet thy Neighbours house, &c. nor any thing that is his*;----that is, thou shalt not wish thy Neighbours hinderance in any thing, much lesse deprive him of the least thing properly belonging unto him, or you shall not offer any wrong to any man whomsoever, whereby he may suffer damage in person, estate, reputation, or otherwise; for the word *neighbour*, must be taken in a more extensive signification in the Commandement, then we commonly use it. O that every man with one eye fixed upon these two Commandements would with the other view what by the Law is justly due to his Majestie, and Posterity, and then consider, &c. Besides these you have the Prophets and Apopostles, speaking the same truth as Ambassadours from heaven; *Solomon* adviseth us not to with-hold the goods from the owners thereof, though Vide the Margent of the Bible. Pro. 27. 29. 30.

Prov. 3. 27, 29, 30. there be power in thy hand to do it, nor to intend hurt against our neighbour, seeing he doth dwell by us without * feare, nor to strive with a man causlesse, seeing he hath done no harme, *My sonne fear the Lord and the King, and meddle not with those that are given to change*, saith the same wiseman.

*Feare, that is, putteth trust in us.

Pro. 24. 21. Eccles. 8. 3, 4. Vide margent in the Bible. Covenant. *Take heed to the mouth of the King, and to the Word of the Oath of God*, saith the Preacher,--- that is, obey the King, and keep the Oath that thou had made for the same cause.

The advancement of the Kingdome of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ.

His Kingdome is never more advanced then when we obey his Precepts, and imitate his practice.

Mat. 5. 3. 4 5. 6. 7, 8. 9. 10. 11. 16. Now his Precepts will appear in part, if we consider that in his Sermon upon the Mount, after he had pronounced blessednesse to the poore in spirit, to those that mourne, to the meeke, to those which hunger and thirst for righteousnesse, to the pure in heart, to peace-makers, to those which suffer for righteousnesse sake, to those that are falsly reviled and persecuted; he addeth this Exhortation to his Apostles,-----*Let your light so shine*, that is, let these things for which men shall be blessed, practically appeare in your lives and conversations, that so they may *see your good workes*, that is, others by your example of holinesse may be brought home to the fold of Christ, and *glorifie his Father which is in heaven.*

And for his practise you may read it in respect of his paying tribute, *Matth.* 22. 21. as also how that being brought before Rulers whom (though causelesly reviling of him) hee reviled not againe, being led as a sheep to the slaughter, and obedient unto death, that thereby hee might be a patterne for our imitation, to which purpose he invites us, *Follow me for I am lowly and meeke, &c.* and in our imitation we must follow him, in obeying his Messengers the Apostles counsells, for they are sent from him, and what their counsell was, you may peruse, *Rom.* 13. *submit your selves unto the higher Powers, &c.* 1 *Pet.* 2. 13, 14, 17. *be obedient to every Ordinance of man, for the Lords sake, whether unto the King as supreme, &c.*

Now

Now what is this but to advance the Kingdome of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ?

The honour and happinesse of the King, that is, honour him as a King of England by a cheerfull obedience unto his Lawes, in which consists his greatest happinesse: honour him by your assistance as Subjects, supporting and sustaining him by your supplies according to his important occasions calling for the same: For, as Christ advised his Apostles to expresse their affections by keeping of his Commandements, *if you love me* (saith he) *keep my Commandements*, as if he should have said, if you love me you will keep my Commandements, and if you doe keep my Commandements, you then evidence that you love me; so in this respect *obedience* to and assistance of His Majestie are but expressions of honour, if you honour the King you will obey and assist him, if you obey and assist him, you make it appeare to the world that you do really honour him. Covenant.

And Royall Posterity, that is, what Honour and Rights were justly due to the Father, render to his Children, deprive not them of any part of their inheritance, their regall honour and power. Covenant.

The publike liberty, safety and peace of the Kingdome. Covenant.

That must needs imply the * Law; for, by that we are distinguished from slaves; and in that we have security and safety with peace, the fruit of the observation of the Law. * *Magna Charta.*

Wherein every ones private condition is included. Covenant.

That is, Prince as well as people: O Lord blesse the Kings Majesty and royall Posterity, restore our Lawes to their vigor, and this poore Kingdome to a lasting peace.

Calling to mind the conspiracies and practices of the enemies of God, against the true Religion and professors thereof. Covenant.

That is, against the doctrinall part of our Religion, expressed in the 39. Articles of the Church of England: for common reason and your Protestation affirmeth it necessarily meant of our Religion established, and against the maintainers thereof. Vide the qualification of an oath behind.

Calling

Covenant. *Calling to mind the treacherous and bloody plots against the Law of the Kingdome,*---- that is, plots by such waies and meanes, as the deplorable estate of Ireland long since was a sad witnesse of, whose rebellious and traytero's courses against His Majesties Royall Person, Crowne of England and Ireland, sufficiently then spake their intentions to subvert both Religion and Law.

Covenant. *We have now at Last for preservation of our selves and Religion from utter ruine and destruction*----- That againe, I say, according to reason, must have a respect to a Religion and Law that is established; for it is improper and absurd to say, much more vaine to sweare, that I will preserve that from ruine and destruction which is not in being, ruine presupposing somthing that is to be destroyed; and preservation somthing that otherwise will be ruined.

Thus you have the ground of this Covenant, (without mentall reservation and equivocation, which if the contrivers had any, as since it appears they had, *non ad vos pertinet*, it savoureth too much of the Jesuite, *ipsi viderint*, let them look to it, it concerneth not you to whom I write) according to the literall and Gramaticall sense and consonant to the Rules of Religion, Reason and Law explained; I proceed to the Covenant it selfe, wherein I shall observe the same religious, rationall and lawfull method.

1 Art. Covenant. *That we shall sincerely, really and constantly (through the grace of God) endeavour in our severall places and callings.*

That is, according to the station wherein God hath placed us, the King in his regall Power, Magistrates as derivatives from him in their places, Ministers in theirs, private subordinate persons according to their severall degrees in theirs, none exceeding the rules proper to their peculiar Vocation; where by the way take notice, that although Superiours may and often do at one and the self-same time performe both their owne duties and also actions proper to Inferiours, yet it is unlawfull for Inferiours to take upon them without lawfull Commission the duty of Superiours; Lay private men must not intermeddle with what concerneth

neth the proper duty of a Miniſter, nor muſt Divines wilfully intrench upon the bounds of the Civill Magiſtrates, nor they upon the Royall Fuction of the King; for this were to authorize confuſion, whereas God is the God of Order.

*Endeavour (*ſo far as lawfully I may) the preſervation of the Reformed Religion in the Church of Scotland in Doctrine.*

That is, if their Reformed Religion be not contrary to the Word of God: this I adde, becauſe few in England know what it is in its Doctrinall part, but by an implicite faith; and I adde it the rather, becauſe the practice of the prevailing party there ſince theſe ſtormes firſt begun, ſo contrary to profeſſions, may occaſion ſuſpition of their doctrines ſincere truth, witneſſe their Declarations, and therein Proteſtations to maintaine the Kings Rights, &c. contradicted by aſſiſting endeavours to deprive him of his Rights.

Covenant: * That clauſe muſt be implied though not inſerted. Beſides it is alſo confeſſed as needfull in the exhortation for taking the Covenant, Ordered by the Houſe of Commons, *Die Veneris* Feb. 1643.

In worſhip, diſcipline and government. That is, that Government which was eſtabliſhed, and ſo remained at the compiling of the Covenant, grant it the Presbyterian, by the lawfull and ſupreme power of that Kingdome, untill that government ſhall be altered by virtue of the ſelf-ſame power. Covenant.

Againſt our common enemies. That is, all who by unlawfull meanes, contrary to the Word of God, the Lawes and cuſtomes of that Nation, and the conſent of his Royall Majeſty, ſhall indeavour an inforced alteration thereof. And here by the way, as well for vindication of my ſelf and many others in England, as alſo ſeeing they eſteem the Presbyterian Government there ſo rich a purchaſed jewell, for their future ſecurity; I ſhall add thus much, that ſince they enjoyed that government ſo confirmed as they have by the Royall aſſent, we never would have

Covenant.

diſturbed

disturbed them in their desired possession of their Church-government; as they have visited (for I love mildnesse in expressions in what concerneth my Countries intereſt) us by oaths and armes for an extirpation of Episcopacy, and for the future shall never intermeddle contrary to Reason, Religion or Law.

Covenant. *The reformation of religion in the Kingdome of England and Ireland, &c. in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government. according to the Word of God, and the example of the best reformed Churches.*

*The doctrine of the Protestant Church in Ireland agreeable to them.

As for the doctrine of the Church of England expressed in the *39. Articles, being grounded on a sure foundation, the holy Scriptures (which are onely able to make us wise unto salvation) hath even to this very day, by the assistance, protection and efficaciously working of Gods Spirit in the hearts of many glorious pillars of our Church (reverend Bishops and other pious and learned Divines) stood like a rock unshaken, their tongues preaching, their pens maintaining, their bloods confirming the irresistable prevailing truth thereof, against Turke, Jew, Jesuite, and all other heretical and schismaticall opponents whatsoever.

Thus much I am confident all neighbouring Protestant Churches will condescend unto: therefore I shall proceed.

Covenant. *In Doctrine and Worship.*

That is, all erroneous tenents and practices (whether Papisticall, Schismaticall, or others) of those *qui ambulant post spiritum suum*, against whom the Prophet denounceth a woe, who being departed from the *faith which they once professed, are guided by the spirit of error, leading silly women, and unstable mindes captive, by the whistling of every breath of their windy doctrine, being clad in sheeps cloathing, but inwardly ravenous Wolves: Examples of which nature, too too many offer themthemselves in these unhappy times; wherein almost all things

Ezek. 13. 3.
* 1 Tim. 4. 1.
Mat. 7. 15.

things are countenanced, or at least connived at as lawful, but lawful things; therefore let us pray, That the God of Peace and Truth would bring into the way of Truth and Peace all such as have erred and been deceived, by seditious Schismatical guids, and erronious directions, and prosper thou, oh Lord, all their endeavours tending to such a Reformation. *Amen.*

Discipline, Government according to the Word of God, and the best Reformed Churches. ——— *Covenant.*

Now the question will be, which cometh nearest to the Word of God.

That Episcopacy claimeth the nearest alliance, truly entituling it self to be of Apostolical Institution, is a truth that hath been made good in all ages.

That for 1500 years continuance of Christianity, there is no example of the Church Governed otherwise: An Argument sufficient to suspect Novelties in opposition unto it.

That it hath been approved of by most of the Protestant Divines beyond the Seas, (who are rather induced by necessity to the practise of Presbytery, there wanting means to maintain, or abilities lawfully to compass Episcopal Government, then wills and desires to enjoy the same: A strong Argument, perswading that our Church is the best Reformed:) is also an apparent truth. *Vide Ecclesiast. Historias.*

That in all disputes, especially this latter, of the reverend and learned Remonstrancer, against that odd Combination of * Letters, Episcopacy hath stood the field, triumphing in Reason and Religion, which have only perswaded my judgment to an inclination thereunto, and an approbation thereof; and I presume any one, not obstinately prejudicate in their judgments, will soon be satisfied thereof, and agree with me herein; by the perusal of that learned Bishops writings, or by any, whose learning and judgments are able to inform them therein. Doctor *Hall* against SMECTYMNVVS.

But to write truth, whether Episcopacy or Presbytery come nearest to the Word of God, never was, nor at present is, the dispute between His Majesty and the two Houses; but *quis regnabit?* Whose the supream power, in Causes Ecclesiastical Since the War

and Civil ſhall practically remain for the future, either in Prince or people: Nor indeed was it the end, that theſe Covenant-Contrivers did aim at. Witneſs their ſecond Article, wherein before tryal and examination (whereby truth or falſhood is made evident,) they, contrary to reaſon, paſs ſentence of condemnation upon it; therein poſitively ſwearing, without reſpect of perſons, (a ſtrange expreſſion, whereas the King is the firſt moving wheel of a new Law) to extirpate the Government it ſelf, that indeed being a Marble pillar, which firſt muſt be removed by them, before they can introduce their bloody-colour'd poſt of Presbytery; endeavouring in that Article to ingage the common peoples Conſciences, (though I ſhall by and by make good, that no mans Conſcience is thereby ingaged) to aſſiſt them, I mean the Plotters, to attain that which they had a pre-reſolution to effect, *ſi non Precibus tunc vi, armiſque:* ---Since that plainly appearing as I have already ſhewed.

However that my deceived Countrymen may ſee how they have been abuſed into a belief of enjoying I know not how much happineſs under the term of Reformation in Church, now generally re-baptized Presbytery; I ſhall preſent to your veiw a ſhort Paralel, collected out of the writings of a pious, learned and conſcientious Divine, of theſe two Governments, Epiſcopal and Presbyterian. For, as for that illegitimate thing, that new-born brat Independency, it hath ſuch variety of ſhapes, and each of them alſo ſo monſtrous, that I ſhall not need to meddle with it at all, being Confident that it will ſoon be hiſſed out of the Kingdom by a Univerſal Conſent, or like *Jonah's* gourd vaniſh away, unthought of, in a moment. And here I cannot but inſert my admiration, to perceive ſo many men ſtill ſo firmly in their affections and Judgments, adhering to the preſent concluſive determinations of that changeable-coloured thing, nay, that word *Parliament*; when as it is that which hath ſo much abuſed even theſe firſt affecting perſons, the City of *London* in general, their miſ-lead ſupporters: Witneſs in particular, the preſent continuing impriſonment of the Lord Mayor, and Aldermen, and that ſtrange and uncivil expulſion out of the Leiutenancy of the Tower, that deſerving Gentleman Col. *Francis Weſt* without

Doctor *Feavne*

without the leaſt pretended cauſe, even in the very middeſt of his expreſſed courteſies, and feaſting favours cofenr'd upon their great Don, and his followers; although he formerly was choſen by the general Vote, nay, acclamation of the whole City, approved of by themſelves, and indeed beloved by all; Only to make way for that unfledg'd Titmouſe of Manhood and Wit; that Imp of Independency *Tichbourn*, ſiſter, by far, mimically, again in his Fathers Chamber, to act a wanton girles part in a Commedy, then to have ſo great a part of truſt and commanding power, as he now hath conferred upon him. Oh Lord open the eyes of poor deceived *England*, eſpecially the City of *London*, and ſuffer them no longer to walk in darkneſs, and in the ſhadow of a ſenceleſs ſtupidity, thus like blind men, groping for the path of peace and truth, even at noon day.

But I proceed to the Paralel of theſe Eccleſiaſtical Governments. And in the firſt place, take their definitions in general.

Epiſcopacy, in it ſelf conſidered, is a prelacy or ſuperiority of one above all the Presbyters, within ſuch a precinct or dioceſs, which one is appointed to have care of all the Churches within that compaſs, and furniſhed with Power and Authority for Ordination and Juriſdiction (that Authority not being Arbitrary, but bounded by Laws,

Preſsbytery is ſuch a form of Church-Government, as is adminiſtred by preaching, and Lay Elders joyntly, with equal voice and power in the ſeveral Judicatories of their Parochial Seſſions, of their Claſſical or greater Conſiſtories, of their Provincial Synods, and National Aſſemblies.

Doctor *Fearn* in his book of Epiſcopacy & Presbytery conſidered, Page 3.

F 2 and

and administred or exercised with advice and assistance of certain choyce Presbyters;) to the intent, that all Churches or Congregations under him may be provided of able Pastors, and that both these inferior Pastors and people may perform the duties required of them.

Now by this, if I mistake not, you may perceive that they both agree in *ipso regimine Ecclesiastico*, --in the Government it self, considered as it referreth to the Church, that is, all Members therein that are to be governed, though not in the manner, number or qualification of the persons governing; both parties confessing, that the power of Ordination, and of Judicature, (so far forth as the keys left by Christ in his Church do extend) is of Divine Institution, and that this power must be exceciſed or administred in his Church by some; so that, I say, the difference is, whether the exercise or ministration of that power be restrained to certain choice men, or indifferently left to all Presbyters, and their assisting Lay Elders: --For none will accuse themselves guilty of so much ignorance and folly, as to affirm, that the decent Ceremonies, and innocent Vestments of the Church, as Cross in Baptism, Surplesse, Cope &, the like, were practised & imposed, as essential, and inseparably necessary adjuncts to the Government it self: All which, rather then contention for them, should have extended to blood, might, nay would have been, by the condescention of His Majesty, quietly layd aside, needing not the peremptorness of the sword to silence them.

I. Under episcopal there is in every Parish a preaching Minister, with Churchwardens; and in some Deacons or Curates, by these offenders are noted and admonished, and the offences presented to the Ecclesiastical Courts or Consistories, where they may be heard and censured

Under the Presbyterian Government there is in every Parish a Minister, with a competent number of Lay Elders and Deacons; according to the largeness of the Parish: These make the Parochial Session, and have power to censure scandalous livers, contentious persons, and the

the Minister having power in some cases of notorious scandal, to restrain from the Communion, untill the offence may be heard and judged in the Court and the party so offending, by the like, to enjoyn publike penance, and impose upon the penitent, before he be received into the Church, a fine to be imployed on pious uses.

the censure of the Church brought to give publike satisfaction.

II. Under Episcopal, in every diocess, there are several divisions, the lesser and the greater, these being called Deanries, there is Arch-Deconries, in those the Arch-Presbyters, in these the Arch-Deacons have power to call the Parochial Ministers together to enquire of doctrine and manners, and see to the redressing of smaller abuses. In the Mother City is the Bishop residing with his Presbyters, having the power of Ordination of judging and determining of all matter of doctrine or scandal, reserevd to his hearing by his Arch-Deacons, and of rejudging what was judged amiss by them: This he doth, either in his Consistory, which he holdeth in his City, assisted by his Presbyters; or in his Visitations, going through his diocess, and causing his Clergy personally to appear, or in his diocesan Synod, which is made up of the City Presbyters, *Dean* and *Chapter*, the Arch-Deacons, and other choice Presbyters under the presidency of the Bishop.

Under the Presbyterian in every County, here are also several divisions or Classes, containing such a number of Parochiall Ministers, who have their set meetings for conference; and in the City, or more eminent Town, is the great Presbyterian Consistory, commonly called the Presbytery, made up of all the Parochiall Ministers within its precincts, and of Lay Elders, from each Parish one; in this is the power of Ordination, of censuring crimes of the higher strain, with the greater Excommunication of hearing appeals from the Parochial Sessions, and rejudging what was there judged amiss.

III. Under Epiſcopal Government are held Provincial Synods, conſiſting of all the Biſhops, Deans, Arch-Deacons, and of certain choice Presbyters from every dioceſs within the Province; theſe have power to order all matters concerning the whole Province, to hear appeals from every Dioceſs, to rejudg what is done amiſs, that could not be well determined in a Diocesan Synod.

IIII. Under Epiſcopal Government are alſo held National Councels, conſiſting of the like Members as do the Provincial, theſe are of greateſt authority: they examine and judg any thing done amiſs any in Province: they conſider and determine matters of Doctrine and Diſcipline inorder to the whole Nationall Church.

Under the Presbyterian alſo are held Provincial Synods, made up of Commiſſioners, that is, certain preaching, and Lay Elders from every Individual Presbytery, or Presbyterian Conſiſtory, within the Province: Theſe judg and determine matters pertaining to the whole Province: Alſo, all difficult caſes, that could not well be determined within the Presbytery, they receive appeals alſo from the Presbyters, and examine what was there thought to be done amiſs.

Under the Presbyterian, likewiſe, are held National Aſſemblies, conſiſting of Commiſſioners from all the Presbyteries in the Kingdom, each of them ſending two preaching, and one Lay Elder; alſo from every Burrough one, and he a Lay man; and from every Univerſity one, and for the moſt part a Ley man too: In theſe is the ſupream and finall determination of all complaints and controverſies, and unto the decrees that iſſue thence, all muſt obey under pain of Excommunication.

Now theſe premiſes impartially conſidered, which of theſe two Governments have the more effectual means to procure the end of Church Government, the preſervation of truth and peace, the ſuppreſſion of Hereſie and Schiſm, let any rational unbyaſs'd-minded man judg; For my part, I ingenuouſly confeſs that it is con-

contrary to common reason, in my apprehension, that Lay-men, from whose education no knowledg extraordinary beyond their trades and such like affairs can be expected, (although it is true that many are furnished with knowing parts, yet as true that the most in a Nation are altogether defective therein) can be as fit instruments for such kind of imployments as grave and learned Divines, whose only business it is to tread the path of all arts both humane and divine; so that if this continue in *England*, what I once read alledged against the Papal Consistory, that they did *potius numerare suffragia quam argumenta ponderare*; number rather their Votes, then weigh the solidity of their Arguments; will, I fear, be our deserved censure.

From which justly meriting accusation
Good Lord deliver this Nation.

Again consider further, Bishops assume not the exercise of any power within any Princes Dominions, or use it over his subjects but by permission and authority from him, and that according to just Laws and Rules made by soveraign Authority for the manner of external Ministration thereof, so that when the Episcopal power cometh to the holding of *Courts* and calling *Assemblies*, it wholy depends on the soveraign power; without whose Assent, signified by his writ, they cannot assemble for the making of *Canons* and *Constitutions*, nor publish and put in ure any of them being made. 25 *Hen.* 8. 19.

Now Presbyterians take upon them to set up their Discipline in a Kingdom (therein indeed shaking hands with Jesuited Papists,) maugre all opposition; It is true for external peace sake they hold it fit to crave leave first and beg the assistance of the Civil Power, but if denyed, will proceed without it, assembling together and making their own Laws without regulations from the Civil Power, for the manner and form of exercising their Discipline, allowing only the Prince, *Potestatem Cumulativam*

(as)

(as they ſpeak) a power to add more ſtrength and vigour, not *Privativam*, to interpoſe or hinder their aſſemblies or decrees. And in this reſpect it were to be wiſhed that *England* had never proved exemplary, as now in theſe latter times it doth by ſuch kind of proceedings; The fountain from whence hath iſſued too ny bloody ſtreams.

And here it will not be amiſs to preſent the Reader with the grounds and reaſons enforcing his Majeſty with his loyal Subjects aſſiſtance to defenſive Arms, and in that a Declaration of my own in particular and many thouſand Engliſh Proteſtant Judgments more, whoſe pens, tongues and hands only endeavored a reſtoration of his Royal Majeſty to his juſt regal honor and authority.

Themſelves and their fellow-ſubjects unto their due liberties both Parliamentary and private.

The preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion in the Doctrine and Profeſſion of the Church of *England* againſt all Papiſts and Sectaries.

The maintenance of the Government of the Church of *England*, as it ſtandeth ſtill by Law eſtabliſhed until the Law of the Land ſhall make alteration thereof; not ſo peremptorily maintaining the continuance of Epiſcopal Government, as to enforce the remaining of its general practice in *England*, by force of Arms in oppoſition and againſt his Majeſties (ſuppoſe that the King could or would diſpence with his Coronation Oath) will and conſent to that purpoſe cheerfully and voluntarily ratified; (not by the preſſing violence of almoſt unavoydable neceſſity or tyrannizing power of the prevailing Sword) but freely confirmed and declared by Act of Parliament, although peradventure they may mourn the alteration and abrogation of ſo ancient and apoſtolical a Government.

But becauſe my Judgment pleadeth for *Epiſcopacy*, and it hath been an argument much urged againſt the Biſhops, and in them the Government it ſelf defamed —— That formerly

That formerly they ſilenced ſeverall godly Miniſters, prohibiting them and others the exerciſe of holy duties; becauſe they did only exerciſe duties that were holy; I ſhal write my thoughts freely herein; For, far be it from me, to ſpeak againſt, or any to forbid the Exerciſe of holy duties, as hearing, praying, reading, living ſtrictly, *Endeavouring to have a Conſcience void of offence towards God, and towards Men:* No, no, the practice of them in ſincerity is the high way to Heaven, for *without holineſſe none ſhall ſee God*; but in the mean time, take heed what you hear, beware of ſwallowing poyſon wrapped up in Leaves of gold; take heed of theſe who have a *forme of Godlineſſe*, a forme in Practice onely; that *under pretence of long Prayers* and outſide piety, *devour Widdows houſes*, that deny the truth of the word of God, the holy Scriptures; by their *falſe Doctrines* ſeducing many into *erronious Opinions*, the parents of worſe ſucceeding actions.

For my part, if any did ſo forbid *performance of holy duties*, as I am altogether ignorant of any ſuch; nor can eaſily be induced to believe it, howſoever were I aſſured of its truth, I would not *minima defendere peccata*, plead an excuſe for them.

But if then they did (as I believe they did) onely by *ſuſtenſions* endeavour to prevent the ſowing of the ſeeds of *ſedition, ſchiſme* and *hereſie*, or the growth thereof to any ſtrength, either in publick or in private, (as it was there) and is the duty of all *Eccleſiaſticall Governours*, they did no more then what the law of God and the land gave them a warrant for; therefore let every one as well take heed of calling *good, evill*; as tearming *evill* to be *good*: for in all probability, had ſuch preventing-remedies as theſe been timely applied, when *ſedition, ſchiſme* and *hereſie* firſt opened their black mouths, we never had arrived at this high degree (as at this preſent we are) of variety of Errours and pernicious deſtructive Opinions—— *O Lord have mercy upon us.*

But grant that ſome of them ſtretched the *exerciſe of power* beyond its lawfull bounds, and in that reſpect were guilty, deſerving puniſhment.

What, is the fault of *one* or more *Biſhops* to the Government it ſelf? could not the *errours of particular perſons* be *reformed*, or *puniſhed* but by an *extirpation* of the whole Government? *durus eſt hic ſermo*, it is hard indeed, if God for the ſin of two, *Adam*

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But if then they did (as I believe they did) onely by *ſuſpenſions* endeavour to prevent the ſowing of the ſeeds of *ſedition, ſchiſme* and *hereſie*, or the growth thereof to any ſtrength, either in publick or in private, (as it was there) and is the duty of all *Eccleſiaſticall Governours*, they did no more then what the law of God and the land gave them a warrant for; therefore let every one as well take heed of calling *good, evill*; as tearming *evill* to be *good:* for in all probability, had ſuch preventing-remedies as theſe been timely applied, when *ſedition, ſchiſme* and *hereſie* firſt opened their black mouths, we never had arrived at this high degree (as at this preſent we are) of variety of Errours and pernicious deſtructive Opinions—— *O Lord have mercy upon us.*

But grant that ſome of them ſtretched the *exerciſe of power* beyond its lawfull bounds, and in that reſpect were guilty, deſerving puniſhment.

What, is the fault of *one* or more *Biſhops* to the Government it ſelf? could not the *errours of particular perſons* be *reformed*, or *puniſhed* but by an *extirpation* of the whole Government? *durus eſt hic ſermo*, it is hard indeed, if God for the ſin of two, *Adam*

and *Eve*, nay of many thousands more, should have therefore denied *mercy* and *reconciliation to all mankind*. How everlastingly unhappy would the residue of the world have been! *Deliver us good God from the cruell dealings of men, and if affliction must be our portion, let us fall into thy hands, O Lord, for thy mercy endureth for ever.*

As for the remaining clauses in the first Article, *viz. Of bringing the Churches of God in the three Kingdoms to the neareſt uniformity, &c.* these things considered:

Covenant. *That the Discipline of the Church of God is most Consonant to the word of God, approved of, and desired by forraigne Divines*, and therefore the best reformed; not intrenching with the *Papists* upon the *Civill power*, nor with them, denying *the Kings supremacy in causes Ecclesiasticall*, agreeing best with Monarchy, confirmed by the Law of the Land. Other Churches therefore (according to the rule of reason and religion) within His Majesties Dominions, should rather conform to ours, then the uniformity of *ours* in *Religion, Government*, and *Worship* admit a *change*, or be transformed into any other form: To this purpose, *O Lord, inspire the universal Church with the spirit of truth, unity, and concord, and grant that all that do Confesse thy holy name may live in peace and godly love one with another. Amen.*

Covenant. *That we shall in like manner*; that is, in a lawfull manner according to the word of God, *endeavour the extirpation of Popery*, —— that is, their tenents of *transubstantiation, worshipping of Images, praying to Saints, Preaching good Works as meritorious to everlasting life and salvation, that Kings for diverse respects may be Deposed by the people, that then Subjects Oaths of Alleagiance may be dispensed with, with their deniall of the Kings Supremacy in all Causes as well Ecclesiasticall and Civill*, and the like; Endeavour extirpation of these by execution of good Laws already established against their Errours and Professours thereof, by that meanes preventing their further growth, hindring their seducing of ignorant and unwary people, and in case of Conspiracy and Treason against the Kings Majesty, His Queen, or Royall off-spring, the disturbance of the Peace of Church and State, by complaining of their attempts and deeds to the Magistrate, leaving them to the justice

This limitation is approved by the Parliament, as behind, *fol.* 53.

King *James Apol.* Oath Alleg.

juſtice of the Law: and laſtly, by recovering them by ſtrength of holy arguments (as with ſtrong phiſick) from that infection of their *judgment* and *conſciences*, and their ſoul-poyſoning *hereſies*, praying continually in the fervency of the ſpirit for their converſion.

But before I proceed to the next words (*Extirpation of Church-Government by Biſhops*, &c.) I muſt deſire the Reader to reflect back upon what I have already written concerning the *Limitations of an Oath*, briefly thus, *That no unlawfull Oath bindeth, nor muſt unlawfull means be uſed for the compaſſing or effecting any thing in it ſelf lawfull, &c.* *Vide fol. 46.*

Extirpation of Government by Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, their Chancellors, &c. That is, by uſing all lawfull means warrantable by the law of God and the Kingdome, to that end, as petitioning the ſupream Magiſtrate the *King*, or any other way if any other way can be imagined, not I ſay, intrenching upon the law of God. *Covenant.*

For, were an abolition hereof abſolutely neceſſary, conducing to the generall peace of the Kingdom, as it is upon good grounds, believed, rather altogether diſtructive thereunto; will you buy a temporall peace upon ſuch unequal termes, as to hazard your ſoul eternally (unleſſe the mercy of God interpoſe) by wilfull perjury in the purchaſe, and gain an eating curſe to your Poſterity by Sacrileage? Beſides, it is againſt the Principles of all Governments, the Law of God, and the Land, to enforce an alteration by bloody force, as I have already ſhewed.

Nay, you doe not onely hereby make your ſelves guilty of *perjury*, *treaſon*, *blood* and *ſacrileage*, but you endeavour to *compell His Majeſty to the breach of His Oath taken at His Coronation*, wherein *He ſwore to Defend the Biſhops, their priviledges, and Churches under their government.*

Again, were the *Preſbyterian government* abſolutely good, & ſo out of neceſſity the *Epiſcopal* muſt be removed, as it is not, yet a bloudy eradication is *proculdubio*, unlawfull, for *we muſt not do evill, that good may come thereof*; we muſt not like mad Mariners *deſperately* ſteer our courſe amongſt Rocks, hoping to arrive at a rich freight, leſt we ſhipwrack our ſelves here, and loſe the end of our voyage, our hopes hereafter; therefore let all men take heed of pre-

tending a neceſſity of keeping this one Article of extirpation, becauſe they have ſo Covenanted; unleſſe they will make good alſo a neceſſity of breaking all Gods Commandements; which is an high degree of Blaſphemy to maintain, for that is, *impia promiſſio quæ ſine ſcelere impleri non poteſt, nonq; obligat*; no Law obligeth in oppoſition to the Gods Law; if it doth binde, it is to a repentance only; Therefore Recollect your thoughts now, for your owne Experience cannot but acquainte you, that a violent deprivation of the Kings Regall power was at firſt the contrivers deſigne; and now plainly appeareth to be the Reſult of the Warre on their part; and reflect upon the almoſt ſix years means made uſe of; or rather ſinnes committed to effect the accompliſhment thereof; as Envy, Hatred, Malice, Hypocriſie, publick pretences of Reformation, private intentions of Eradication, and Deformation, revilings of His Majeſties Royall Perſon and Government, Scandalizing of the Engliſh Nationall Church, abominable Lying, contempt of Superiors, forceing of mens Conſciences, Diſloyalty, Perjury, Theft, Bloodſhedding, nay, all imaginable Sinnes, with renewing of old Hereſies, and raiſing of all manner of Schiſmes. Now if you love your ſelves and your ſoules, and would not contract the guilt of all theſe ſinnes upon your owne heads; and as it were ſet your Seal of confirmation and approbation to the Sinnes of others; thus *heaping up wrath againſt the day of wrath*, be perſwaded to deſert theſe Plotters, and their Deſignes perſiſt not, (contrary to Reaſon and Religion) in a rigid and ſinfull keeping of that extirpating Article. Now ſeeing the day-ſtar appeareth, and every one (who formerly were wraped up in the night of miſtakes and miſapprehenſions, or blinded with the ſilken veile of a good Opinion of the Contrivers, (becauſe outwardly they appeared in Angelicall habits) may, without ſpectacles read that their pretences were only to uſher in the intention; therefore the plea of ignorance and good meaning as formerly, can no longer be uſed, but be perſwaded to come out from among theſe progreſſive ROOTERS, leſt continuing with them in Sinne; you alſo with them partake of puniſhment. For God is juſt, as well as mercifull.

Covenant. *Superſtition, Hereſie, Schiſme, and Profaneſſe, &c.* For the reſidue of this ſecond Article having already written ſomething (which

(which alſo may aptly be applyed to theſe) when I handled the word *Popery*, I ſhall only turne it into a Prayer; yet becauſe Schiſme is joyned with the reſt; if it were a time in theſe ſad times, to jeſt, I ſhould make it good, Rationally that your Contriving Presbyterians have in that, Sworn againſt their owne Practice; for although the Proteſtant Church, like the *Spouſe* in the *Canticles* is *black*; that is, not appearing *genuina gloria*, by reaſon of ſtormy weather; yet ſtill ſhe is *Comly*; ſtill in her doctrine and diſcipline unaltered, remaining firme upon its old eſtabliſhed foundation, notwithſtanding the violent Endeavours of their changing times; nor was their Presbyterian Government then extant, and as yet but an infant, for want of the Royall aſſent, being neither able to ſtand, goe, or ſpeak; they themſelves alſo very well knew, what the word *Schiſme* in an Eccleſiaſticall ſenſe meaneth; how that *ille Schiſmaticus qui a ritu Eccleſiæ petulanter, & ambitionis ſtudio diſcedit*; that Separateth himſelfe upon a proud Phariſaicall conceit of holineſſe from the Communion of the Church, in the performance of Religions acts. But I paſſe that by, Praying that God, the ſearcher of all hearts, would be pleaſed to root out of all our hearts and mindes the deſtroying blindneſſe of Superſtition, the ſpreading Leproſie of Hereſie, the peace-Eating Gangren of Schiſme, the tainting Corrupt humours of Profaneſſe, and all other things diſpleaſing unto him, and contrary to His word, that we enjoy a bleſſed harmonious conſent in Truth and Godlineſſe, expreſſing the power thereof in our lives and converſations, and that the Lord may be One, and his name One in theſe three Kingdomes.

We ſhall with the ſame ſincerity, &c. Endeavour to preſerve the Rights and Priviledges of Parliament: Theſe are —— freedome of expreſſing mens judgements, & if taken in a comprehenſive compleate ſenſe, (King, Lords and Commons) power to repeal old, and Eſtabliſh new Lawes; to which every Subject is bound to yeild obedience: Only thus much let me adde, that no Priviledges of one or both Houſes can Patronize Treaſon, Murder, or breach of the Peace, by their own confeſſion; nor is it indeed conſonant to reaſon; that they, whoſe firſt inſtitution was ordained for preſervation; ſhould themſelves practice or command deſolation; whoſe Conſultations ſhould tend to the prevention of Treaſona- 3 *Article. Covenant.* *Vide* Lex terræ. *F. Foukens.*

ble and Rebellious excurſions; & their concatenated effects, diſſolution of the band of a nationall Peace, effuſion of bloud; by impoſing (to that purpoſe) penalties & puniſhments upon the offenders; ſhould amidſt ſuch conſultations be practically guilty themſelves of the ſame Crimes; they ſhould be guiltleſs that condemne the guilty.

Quæ culpare ſoles, ea tu ne feceris ipſe:
Turpe eſt doctori, cum culpa redarguit ipſum.

Preſerve the Liberties of the Kingdomes, That is, as Kingdomes having liberties by the Law and Cuſtome thereof diſtinct one from the other; to preſerve each of them, free from any uſurping power and unlawfull intrenching one upon the Other. And in this reſpect it were to be wiſhed, that our Northern friends had kept cloſe in their practice: and that *England* for the future, would take care to defend its particular Intereſts.

Covenant.

Liberties of the Kingdomes, not Libertiniſme in a Kingdome. But Liberties, that is, the Liberty of each man therein, which as Natives, or otherwiſe belong unto them according to the fundamentall Conſtitution and Law of each reſpective Nation: now this Liberty muſt neceſſarily have a reſpect to all degrees of men therein. Pray then let us not exclude the head of all, the King, as I have touched in my obſervation upon the preamble, eſpecially having ſworn in the next Clauſe to *Preſerve and Defend the Kings Majeſties Perſon, &c.* That is, Not to hazard His Perſon by oppoſing Armies in the field, where the ignorant Bullet cannot diſtinguiſh perſons; Nor by adminiſtring the leaſt occaſion of heart-grieving & melancholy ſadneſſe; the ſlie, yet certain impairers of health, & menacers of the bodies ruine; nor by, and actions or ſpeeches derogatory to the honour of a King, and not becomming the duty of a Subject; for you all know what greived *David* moſt; and who it was that ſaid, *At quod tu facis, hoc mihi dolet* —— Subjects inſurrections againſt, and inſolent abuſes of their King, (like the apprehenſion of an injury received from an intimate friend) *non tam cito tangit quam penetrat,* like an arrow pierceth the very heart, upon an inſtant, therefore this is not the way to preſerve the Kings perſon.

Covenant.

And Authority —— Now, what that is I have already ſhewed, how that to Him belongeth the power of making and repealing Lawes, War or Peace, &c.

Vide more to make this good backward.

In

In the preſervation of the true Religion & Liberties of the Kingdom. *Covenant.*
This, upon Rationall grounds muſt neceſſarily imply Religion and Liberties, *in eſſe*, not *poſſe* or *velle*, as I have already obſerved; Now both this Religion *in eſſe* by Law eſtabliſhed, and the Kingdomes Liberties: His Majeſty hath preſerved, & ſtil doth, even with the loſſe of his own Defence, the Kingdomes true Liberties. And for His Religion I atteſt His very Enemies confeſſion, to make good His conſtant Perſeverance therein, and preſervation thereof: my ſelf in this particular eſteeming it, *melius ſilere quam parca dicere*, admiration ſupplying the place of Expreſſion.

O therefore, that the world may bear witneſſe with your Conſciences of your Loyalty, that is, faithfull obedience to your Soveraigne, (notwithſtanding former aberrations through ignorance) and that you, for your parts had no thoughts or intents to diminiſh that juſt power and greatneſſe which belongeth unto him by the Law: Uſe your beſt endeavours to free Him from this unparallel'd and unjuſt reſtraint, and reſtore Him to His Regall power and poſſeſſion of His Royall prerogative. Thus you will be inſtrumentall reſtorers, of Englands Honour, Peace, and Glory; and doe not content your ſelves, (as too many doe) that you have only ſworn to maintaine the Kings Juſt Rights, when as your actions Endeavour the contrary, or endeavour not at all the maintenance of them, contrary unto this Clauſe of your Covenant. *Covenant.*

We ſhall alſo with all faithfullneſſe endeavour the diſcovery of all ſuch as have been, or ſhall be Incendiaries, Malignants, orevill Inſtruments by hindring the Reformation of Religion, &c. Who hindreth Reformation, and a reduction of Religion to the purity of practice, but thoſe who hitherto have countenanced and ſtill connive at a Toleration of all Erroneous practices, Schiſme, &c. contrary to the ſecond Article of this Covenant, hereby making themſelves guilty; for *Qui non vetat peccare cum poteſt, Jubet.* 4. *Article. Covenant.*

Dividing the King from His people —— Are not they ſuch diviſers who have taken up armes only to deprive His Majeſty of His Regall Power? Declared him not in a condition to governe; and by impriſoment of Him, diſabled Him from performing His duty as a King, by protecting His Subjects; and by Proclamations enjoyning their Obedience to the eſtabliſhed Lawes? Who *Covenant.* Anſwers to *Scots* Papers, *Novemb.* 1647. Dec. Anſwer to *Scots* Papers, 13 *March* 1647.

have

have divided the Kingdome from the King? but such, as by their
Negat. Oath. actions, Oathes and Declarations have endeavoured to frame *Rem publicam in Regno*; Supreamacy in the people never heard of, nor ever practised in this Nation before, in opposition to His Majesties justly Supream power; going about to transforme this Kingdome into a body with two heads, which is monstrous and contrary to nature, and to contrive two shining Suns in *Englands* Hemisphear, which was ever ominous, and Prognosticatours of Destruction.

O Deus bone, in quæ tempora reservasti!

Preserve us good God from confusion and suddaine ruine.

Who divide one Kingdom from another, making factions among the people, and causing fractions in their duties and affections, but they that invite the assisting invasion of neighbour Nations, maintaining Armies within its one bowells, to effect an alteration of Government by force? Who divide one Kingdome from another, but they that neglect, nay, deny timely supplies, whereby *Ireland* might have been reduced, in Obedience to His Majesty, and the Law of the Land; the want whereof disabled the Protestant party there, and enableth the *Irish* Papists to divide themselves from the Crown of *England* and *Ireland*, endangering also the ruine of our own Nation; and all these contrary to the common rules of Humanity, much more Christianity? and in opposition also, to the Law of the Land and this League and Covenant, thus rightly, Rationally and Religiously expounded.

Covenant. *That they*, that is, Incendiaries, Malignants, &c. *may be brought to publick triall, and receive condigne punishment as the degree of their Offences shall require.*

For this part of the Article I have nothing to write but this. *Secundum Leges fiat Justitia*, may Justice take place, running down like a stream; yet because *non sanguinis homo*; *Misericordia prævaleat opto*, may they all finde pardon for their Treason and Rebellion against our Soveraign Lord the King, & the Laws in this world, mercy & forgiveness for all their sins against the God of Heaven in the world to come. To this purpose it were to be wished they would follow the often reiterated advice of Reverend Judge *Jenkens, to restore His Majesty to His Throne, and procure a gracious Pardon from Him, with an all-burying Act of Oblivion.*

O

O that men would in this their day, perceive those wayes wich do lead to Peace and Truth, and walk therein before they be hidden from their eyes.

And whereas the happinesse of a blessed Peace betweene these Kingdomes, that is, by the union of the three Kingdomes under One King, professing the truth of Religion, governing by His established Law; denyed in former times to our Progenitours, is by the providence of God granted unto us,&c. ——— 5. *Article. Covenant.*

So that, now we are no more Aliens, nay Neighbours, but Brethren; not envying one anothers happinesse and prosperity, being not infested with offensive or defensive Acts of hostility upon either of our borders, but reciprocally endeavouring one anothers peace and welfare, mutually joying in the enjoyment of one anothers happinesse; Let each of us endeavour that the Kingdomes may remaine in such a firme peace and union, that is, by our mutuall obedience to our Soveraigne, and the Laws of each respective Nation, and in brotherly love one towards another.

Amen, O heavenly Father. Give us to this end powerfull endeavours to make good our Covenant accordingly. ———

And may Justice be done to the wilfull opposers in manner expressed in the precedent Article.

We shall also according to our places in this common cause of Religion, Liberty, and peace of the Kingdomes, assist and defend by all lawfull meanes all those that enter into this Leagne and Covenant,&c. nor shall we make defection to the contrary part, but shall oppose and hinder —— 6. *Article. Covenant.*

That is, all such who envying our blessed union thus religiously lawfully cemented, shal oppose us and it, endeavouring by heretical erroneous divulged positions to dishonour God and robbe him of his glory; by seditious doctrines; to infuse into the people a disloyal spirit of Treason and Rebellion against the Kings Majesty His heires and successours; of disobedience to Him and His lawfull Commands; whereby His honour is despised, the generall good of the Kingdomes not onely neglected, but much endangered: all which we shall do as in the sight of God.

And because these Kingdomes are guilty of many sins against God and his Son Christ Jesus as by our present distractions & dangers too manifestly appeareth. Let us all pray that the God of heaven and earth would give us his grace of humiliation for our own

particular, & the generall ſins of this Nation, eſpecially that we have not valued the ineſtimable benefit of the Goſpel, nor received Chriſt into our hearts: conforming our lives and actions to his practice and precept; but rather have made uſe of the liberty and freedome which we had by Chriſt from the rigorous exaction and condemning power of the Law, as an occaſion to neglect and altogether to deny our obedience to the Law as the rule of direction. Notwithſtanding that thou who art truth it ſelf, haſt told us that the end of thy comming was to fulfill and not to deſtroy the Law; Nevertheleſſe we deſpiſe it, running madly into ſin as an horſe ruſheth into the battaile. Let us further pray that God would beſtow upon us his grace of aſſiſtance, whereby we may be enabled to amend our lives; to performe all holy actions required by himſelfe, to himſelf, according to his revealed will, all our duties towards Men according to their ſeverall degrees and places, Honour and obedience to the King as Supreame, to whom they primarily belong; to all ſubordinate Magiſtrates as rivelets ſtreaming from him the Spring; Forgiving all our enemies, perſecutors and ſlanderers, praying God (who hath the hearts of all men at command, winding them which way he pleaſe as he doth the Rivers of water) to pardon their ſins and turne their hearts, and cauſe us to live in love, peace and charity one with another. Thus let us ſhew an example of a reall reformation, that the Lord may turne away his wrath and heavy indignation, and reſtore truth and peace to theſe Churches and Kingdoms, which God out of his infinite mercy grant. Amen. Amen.

Gal. 5. 13.

5 Mat. 17.

To draw to a concluſion, I ſhall (by way of a briefe recollection) propound ſome few queſtions to my poor deceived Country-men which their owne knowledge can anſwer.

Had the irregular faction of the two Houſes intended as they only pretended a reformation of ſome errours, which perhaps like Cobwebs in an uninhabited houſe, were growne through too much ſecurity a crime incident to an uninterrupted peace in Kingdomes, they might have been ſwep't downe with the milde beeſome of Inſtruction, and care taken to prevent the like for future, and needed not to have pull'd downe the building to take them away.

Did ever HisMajeſty in all His tranſaction by His Meſſages and Declarations ſince theſe unhappy times, propoſe any new thing for

for the inlargement of His owne Prerogative, or derogatory to the Law of the Land, and more particularly that part thereof which concerneth the Subjects Liberty?

Did the King Patronize any Inſtruments who ranne formerly beyond the juſt bounds of the Law from condigne puniſhment? Did He ever practice Popery truely ſo called, or propoſe any thing that to the moſt jealous and ſuſpicious thoughts might in after-times have occaſioned the introduction thereof?

Or did he ever adminiſter the leaſt ground to fear his recidivation from the Proteſtant Religion, but rather hath evidenced the contrary by His Practice, Proclamations, Declarations and Commands?

Did not His Majeſty ever firſt ſend Meſſages of Peace and reconciliation; Wooing His Subjects to the enjoyment of their owne Tranquility and happineſſe? *Vid.* all His Meſſages. *Col. Parl. Ordin.*

On the contrary, have not the irregular faction of the two Houſes, notwithſtanding their pretences of Religion and Law; ſubverted the ancient Law and Liberty of our Nation, and defamed the Religion eſtabliſhed abrogating its formes of Worſhip?

This will appear if you conſider

That in all their addreſſes though pretending Peace they never endeavoured a reconciliation between His Majeſty and themſelves in ſuch a manner, whereby a mutuall ſatisfaction and ſecurity might have been given and received as it is requiſite, between two differing parties, but they muſt have all; giving His Majeſty no ſatisction at all?

Did they ever command the practice of the Religion and formes of worſhip eſtabliſhed (notwithſtanding their pretended maintenance thereof?) or did they ever ſo much as conſult about preſervation thereof, but on the contrary have ſuffered hereſies, Schiſmaticall opinions openly to be Preached and Printed, contrary to the ſame Government?

Did not His Majeſty yeild to the ſetling of the *Preſbyterian* Government for three years in a Legall manner, as flowing from the power of the Crowne? But this would not ſatisfie. ---- They like ſtrange gameſters, fling at all, they muſt have *totaliter totum.* ---

Therefore conſider hereof, you have againe the reſult of the deſigne Epitomized. --- *Nolunt hunc regnare.* --- Their Writings, Actions, paſt, preſent, (although ſpiced over with never ſo many

plauſible pretences) affirme no leſſe.

O Angligina, Angligina, quæ vos dementia cepit?

O Engliſh-men let me expoſtulate with you; Did all of you, nay did any of you ſix years paſt by your firſt aſſiſtance, intend what you now ſee brought to paſſe? ---- The frame of your Government altered. ---- Your King your Soveraigne a Priſoner. I am confident that few or none of you, (you I meane to whom I write, contributers of your aſſiſtance, not knowing wilfull contrivers) had then no ſuch intentions; Why then by ſilence will you ſuffer the guilt of theſe bloody deſigners to be originally pinn'd upon your back?

Take notice that ſin-guilty men are of a nature much like the Plague, they love to have company in infection, avoid the one therefore as you would flie from the other, follow the common Proverbe, Set the ſaddle upon the right horſe.

Weigh in your thoughts paſt and preſent actions; have they not ſufficiently abuſed you, you deceived, miſlead, *Londoners* I meane?

Could you ever ſome years paſt, have ſuppoſed that an Army, formerly ſtiling themſelves your protecting friends, ſhould by an oppoſing march come againſt you; ſlaying even at your City wals ſome ingaged for your and its defence? that the Cannons mouth ſhould by them be turned againſt your dwellings; that your defenſive meanes of preſervation within your wals, your Chaines I meane, by the prevalency of that faction, ſhould be knock'd off? *July* 1647.

Could you then expect or fear to be thus domineered over by ſuch bucklers, and the Lording ſwords? I am certaine ſuch thoughts could not then poſſeſſe you. Now, all this being true, why will you by your too too paſſiveneſſe be continuers of your owne Miſeries?

Conſider further, do you all expect *Clavum regni tenere?* doe you all hope to be Kings? to governe? none obey? you cannot entertaine ſuch vaine conceipts.

Do you expect that liberty ſhould be granted in Civill affaires? *Vitam ſine lege vivere* to live without a Law. -- No no: deceive not your ſelves --- your cunning Maſters that have hitherto blindfolded you and led you by the noſe; will, when they have gained the full command of the reines, make you paſſive in any thing that their ambition, malice, and covetouſneſſe ſhall (though falſely) ſug-

ſuggeſt as neceſſary and convenient. ---- Therefore be perſwaded to a deſertion of them and their deſignes. What though you have got a ſcratch or two in your reputation, by your former erroneous actions; would you rather have it feſter through neglect, and ſo indanger the loſſe of a member, then apply this ſalve of a penitentiall returne, which will heale you in a moment? *Non eſt perniciosum in prælio vulnerari, ſed poſt vulnus acceptum vulneri medicamentum non applicare*; It is more madneſſe to refuſe a cure, then diſhonour to receive a wound.

Is it not a far better, happier Government, and freer from oppreſſion to live under our Soveraigne Lord the King, Ruling His Subjects by a written Law, and reſigning the Miniſters of that Law (if they neglect executing Juſtice and Judgement according to the direction thereof) to the ſtrictly ſearching examination of a Parliament, (one of their proper workes) and according to their merit by them to receive Puniſhment, then under a company of Tyrannicall perſons (*quibus voluntates ſolummodo leges*) governing according to their owne wils, and from whom there is no appeale?

Once more therefore, let me earneſtly deſire all my abuſed and deceived Country-men, to returne to the God of heaven by a true and unfeigned repentance to their Soveraigne in Loyall affections, and obedienciall actions, to their Country in a true hearted fidelity.

And here although I have not the leaſt cauſe (knowing the principles of Religion on which they ſtand, to doubt their contrary practice) yet for the further advancement of His Majeſties Honour, their owne reputations as *Engliſh* Proteſtants, Vindication of the Kings ſo juſt a Cauſe, and ſtopping the mouthes of envious men, who watch for reviling opportunities, let me adde this requeſt, to all thoſe who by the aſſiſting and directing power of the Almighty God have ever ſince theſe diſmall dayes of bloody diſloyalty, been kept in the ſtraight path of obedience to His Majeſty, That they would invite all former wanderers out of that way, unto a returne, by perſwaſive arguments of reaſon, ſound principles of Religion, alluring expreſſions of affection, laying aſide all bitterneſſe of ſpirit, revenge and hatred, the bane of Peace and reconciliation, forgetting all former deviations; putting a difference between the efficient and inſtrumentall cauſe, I meane

the contrivers of this Rooting deſigne and the Inſtruments, who were abuſed into unlawfull actions by ſpecious pretences, and know not the end to which theſe beginnings did tend; conſidering that though Nature hath equally beſtowed eyes upon all birds, yet ſhe hath not given to all, eyes alike qualified with the Eagles; therefore let us all rather endeavour to cleare their ſight, then muffle them with the vailes of ſcornefull and reproachfull words; Nay let us even to the moſt wilfull perſiſters and invenomed ſpirits imitate the example of bleſſed S. *Steven*, whoſe heart, hands, eyes, and tongue then begg'd mercy and forgiveneſſe of the God of heaven, for his hard hearted adverſaries, when they were knocking him downe to the earth with ſtones. And when in after times the wheel ſhall turne, placing their expectations in the chaire of power with a *nunc fruimur votis*, forget not to uſe the reines of command with Moderation; ſtill remembring that the irregular deeds of State affaires, and Princes imployed inſtruments, reflect alwayes upon their Royall Maſter; the Kings honour being then wounded when they do but ſlip into the practice of unwarrantable, unjuſt oppreſſing actions, remembring alſo that many thouſands in *England* have almoſt for ſeaven years time, been bred up like wilde Colts, by their Riders, unto ſtubborneſſe and diſobedience, and therefore in probability, may ſooner be ſtroked then whipp'd into a condeſcending compliance; for oftentimes we know, that the ſence of an immoderately beating hand, forceth a penitentiall, (though formerly prodigall child) to a backſliding, and re-excurſions, unto more deſperate undertakings.

Although *England* hath been long troubled almoſt with a general phrenzie, yet the Iron rod, Bread and Water are not properly to be given them as food, whom Time the mother of Truth, and Inſtruction the Judgements Informer, hath like Phyſick recovered from that diſtemper.

Remember that *England* hath been long ſick of a Conſumption, even to a fear'd diſſolution of the whole body, likea Patient (by the loſſe of much blood) brought into an extreame weakeneſſe; and all know, that knowing Phyſitians (although probably there may ſtill remaine ſome bad humour) adminiſter not ſtrong Purges, but comforting Cordials then, when there is as it were an *interregnum inter mortem vitamq̃*, not knowing which will be the Conquerour,

querour, life or death; ſtill having in your thoughts that it is the onely glorious property of mercy, for a man then to pardon and forgive injuries when it is in his power to be revenged. Thus let us win all unto us, and being won, lock their affections and judgements by ſuch Chriſtian-like examples, and like true followers of Chriſt pray for all men, firſt for our Soveraigne Lord King *Charls* to this purpoſe.

O Thou Lord of Hoſts, pitch thou thy tent hourely round about Him; be a ſhield to defend Him from all violent attempts againſt His Royall Perſon, from cunning inſinuations againſt His Honour, Crowne and Dignity, be thou good God His comforter in this His day of Tribulation; permit not the waters of affliction to overwhelme His ſoul with ſadneſſe, but continually ſupply Him with patience proportionable to His ſufferings: haſten, haſten good Father His deliverance. Reſtore Him unto His Regall Power and juſt Rights, ſettle Him, ſettle Him faſt in His Throne; place the Crown upon His head, and ſuffer it not by the hands of Treaſon or Rebellion to be ſhaked, or removed from Him, or any of His Royall off-ſpring untill *Shiloh* come; Bleſſe His Majeſties Royall Conſort, our moſt gracious Queen *Mary*, cauſe Her with *Mary* in the Goſpel to chooſe that better part which never can be taken from Her. Bleſſe, protect and defend our Noble Prince *Charls*, with the reſt of His Majeſties Princely Progeny: Bleſſe theſe Kingdomes of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and all degrees of men therein, from the higheſt to the loweſt: Forgive the iniquity of the people, turne us O Lord, from our ſins, and we ſhall be turned, take away the heavy judgement of the ſword from us, Reſtore our Peace, renew and continue our Plenty, *comfort us according to the dayes wherein thou haſt afflicted us, according to the years that we have ſeen evil*; Take away all bitterneſſe of ſpirit, revenge, hatred, and give us unity, brotherly love, and concord.

Bleſſe the famuos City of *London*; grant the Inhabitants a ſerious conſideration of their former wayes, repentance and pardon for all their offences; turne them, turne them O Lord into thy paths, *Let thy word be a Light unto their feet, and thy teſtimonies a guide unto their ſteps*. Reſtore unto them their ancient Government, and to that end give them Governours, Magiſtrates, and all other Officers according to thy own will; Religious, not Rebellious, faithfull, not factious, carefull to diſcharge that truſt which God and His Scared Majeſty ſhal intruſt them with, propounding thy Law for their imitation; the knowne Laws of the Land for their direction, ſtudying onely the glory of thee our God, the Honour of our Royall Soveraigne and His Poſterity, The peace and plenty,

wealth

wealth and weale, prosperity and happinesse of all their fellow Citizens, from the greatest to the least and meanest. Preserve them and the whole City from the boundlesse rage of devouring fire, from Plague, pestilentiall diseases & famine, defend it from the ravenous violence of maliciously ambitious men, from being tyrannized over & oppressed by the insulting sword: let not, O let not the wealth and glory thereof, nor any of the Inhabitants be exposed a prey to the unsatiable fury of avaricious, revengefull, blood-thirsty men: purge it from all heresie, schisme, profanenesse, and whatsoever is contrary to thy word and Commandments; and to this purpose bestow upon them faithful dispensers of thy Word, feeing their flocks with wholsome food; not leading them unto Rockie Mountaines to famish, nor leaving them amongst Wolves, killing heresies, to be destroyed, not giving the children of thy family either for fear or hope, *stones instead of bread, Serpents in place of Fishes*; not Preaching themselves but the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in truth and sincerity. *O Let not my Lord be angry and I will speak but this once*; Be thou, (O Almighty, Omnipotent God) a strong tower of defence to all the particular Citizens, Members of that Honourable Corporation, with all the rest of the people within His Majesties Realms and Dominions, high and low, rich and poor, young and old, even from our Soveraigne Lord the King, to the tender infant newly stept into the world out of the darke prison of the wombe, and together with them all others belonging to His Royall * Family and household whereſoever dispersed; Take thou every one of them into thy all-securing protection, give them blessings proportionable to their severall degrees, conditions and necessities, showre downe thy blessings upon all men from one end of the earth to the other; Let the sun-shine of thy Gospel breake forth in all dark corners of the world, dispelling the black clouds of Judaisme, Turcisme, Paganisme, and all other Errours whatsoever: Accomplish the number of thy Elect, and then come Lord Jesus, come quickly. Grant these Petitions O thou Father of all mercies and God of all consolations, for the sake of thy Son our Saviour, to whom with thee and thy holy Spirit, be ascribed all Honour and Glory, now and for evermore. *Amen. Amen. Amen.*

* Eng. Scot. Irel.

Soli Deo gloria.

Si quid novisti rectius istis
Imperti, si non, his utere mecum.

FINIS.